

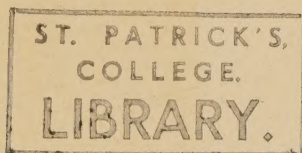
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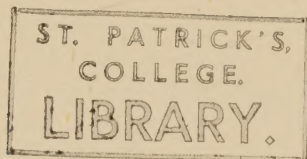


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LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

Historical, Literary, and Aesthetical Society.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

SECOND SESSION.

Under the special Patronage

OF

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DUBLIN:

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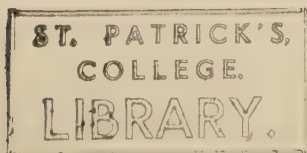
1857.

CENTENARY HISTORY
OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
1855—1955

Edited by
JAMES MEENAN



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PREFATORY NOTE

BY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

I FORGET how many years ago it is since I was asked to substitute for the late Professor William Magennis as Chairman of an inaugural meeting of the Literary and Historical Society. The notice was short, but not short enough to prevent my name from being printed on the programme for the evening, with the wildly misleading information that I was an ex-Auditor. At any rate the mistake afforded me an opportunity for an opening jest to the effect that I had never been Auditor, but that for many years I had been *auditor tantum*. I was, alas, unaware at the time that this fairly superficial joke had already been utilised in times long previous by the late William Dawson. Scholars, I hope, will excuse the unconscious repetition in view of the perhaps too subtle difference that I used the phrase in its exact Juvenalian meaning, whereas in my illustrious predecessor's case, it was a pun. He had been an Auditor; I had never been more in the Society than the merest of listeners.

My period as an interested, if inactive, member of the Society was during that time the events of which are so well recorded in this book by Mr. Arthur Cox and Mr. Justice Davitt. When I first joined, in 1912, the former was giving an astonishing weekly display of virtuosity and subtlety in the auditorial chair to a growing number of the new type of student which the National University had already begun to produce. The latter was my exact contemporary, but even then had developed and could display the wit and the precision of statement which have ever distinguished him. I can locate the exact spot outside what was then the door of the Students' Room in 86 St. Stephen's

Green, where the present Chief Justice solicited my vote in the coming auditorial election in which he was standing in opposition to Messrs. John Costello and Michael J. Ryan. I regret to have to recall that I considered his approach to be too Clongownian, and in reaction threw all my very light weight and influence into the cause of the late Professor Ryan, whom I was not unjustified in assuming to be the candidate of the proletariat. His victory and its consequences, immediate and remote, are recorded in this book; but not exhaustively. One of the remote consequences was that he abandoned the profession of Engineering for the Law. A still more remote result of my youthful preference was that he defeated me for the representation of the University in Seanad Éireann more than thirty years afterwards.

Abundant proof is given in this book of the Society's enormous vitality and of the many ramifications of character-formation and the training of personality by which it became so influential a part of the history of Ireland. I do not know whether it is as common nowadays as it was in my time for its members to be solemnly notified by visiting chairmen that they have among them the future leaders of the Irish people. These pages prove with complete accuracy that what seemed too often to young students to be a rather unctuous method of currying favour with a generally incredulous and unheeding audience was the literal truth. Mr. Justice Davitt refers to his own reluctance to revisit the old Physics Theatre. I find myself, on the contrary, continually displaying it as the room where most of the renowned politicians and public speakers of modern Ireland received their early training in the indispensable arts of oratory, persuasion and the management of men. Among the greatest were some who, perhaps, never shone as orators, but may be said to have practised persuasion by other means. I count it as my good fortune, for example, to have shared digs for a couple of years with 'Ginger' O'Connell, then returned from his brief sojourn in America but still a power; and I often think that, for all the real qualities of learning and personality of the academic staff with whom I came in contact, I learned more about real life and the real springs of action from

the man who next to Michael Collins did most to shatter to pieces the machinery of British rule in Ireland.

Different readers will, of course, be impressed by different parts of the remarkably full, varied and vital chronicle which Mr. Meenan and his collaborators have so ably put together. Two things most of all have left a lasting impression on my mind. One is the long, sad list of the numerous brilliant young people for whom the bright promise that they gave in the Literary and Historical was almost the whole of their achievement. The other is the mysterious dispensation by which the older reader of a book of this kind discovers in reading it that he is far more closely familiar with the persons and events of over a quarter of a century ago than with those of more recent times. Having listened with the most acute enjoyment for about four years in the Literary and Historical, it was my chance to learn public speaking on public platforms, with which I became in time so familiar that I used to boast that I had made a speech at nearly every chapel gate in Ireland; but somehow or other, 'the battles of mice' that took place in the old Physics Theatre just before and after the beginning of the first World War, still retain a clarity that I cannot always impart to much later events. This kink in the lighting system of reminiscence is illustrated for me by my first meeting in 1925 with the late Dr. Thomas Madden of Kiltimagh. He spoke of the great day in 1905 when he was one of the band which prevented *God save the King* from being played on the organ in the Great Hall; and I carried away an indelible impression that somehow that action was for him the most highly illuminated one of his whole life.

A recent Auditor has pointed out the disabilities which have been brought upon the Society by the enormous growth in the number of the College's students. There is no need for me to expatiate here on the Society's value or the worth of the great tradition that it enshrines and perpetuates. These are evident. If I am permitted to express a personal wish it is that the Society should always keep alive its quality as a debating place for students, and that it should resist the temptation to turn itself into an arena where showmanship

PREFATORY NOTE

is more important than good speaking, or make itself too readily into a platform for the notabilities—or notorieties—of the passing day. This book contains many an indication for those in charge of its destinies of how to keep on the right road and avoid the decline.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

FOREWORD BY THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

CIRCUMSTANCES DETERMINED the form in which this history of the L. & H. has been presented. Between 1891 and 1897 there was a break in the proceedings of the Society. There is no survivor of the period before 1891; accordingly, the story of the years between the foundation and that date is told in one piece. In the period since 1897, there are fortunately many past members who can recall the events of their day and have been generous enough of their time to write down their memories. This cannot always have been an easy task. The records of the Society are fragmentary; beyond a rule-book of 1857, there is no official document available before 1882. Not all the minute books since then have been preserved, though there is still a possibility that they will be brought to light and, perhaps, upset some statements that are confidently made in the following pages. In the absence of these records, many contributors have been forced to rely on their recollections. This may have made at times for easier writing. It is possible also that there has been no substantial loss of accuracy. As many past and present members will agree, the minutes are not always conclusive proof of the events that they record.

On the other hand, the loss of records may mean that even in quite recent times there are omissions from this account. In all periods, we have been fortunate enough to get so much that was not previously known, bearing on debates or inaugural meetings or family connections, that we feel that we must have missed much more. We hope that past members will help us to repair these omissions. We will have no regrets if a future Editorial Committee, using what we have gathered and making good our deficiencies, can go beyond us.

Nevertheless, we have tried to check statements of fact by enquiries from contemporaries, and a special word of thanks must be given to those who helped to brief us and to decide the many doubtful points that arose. The most difficult task that faced the contributors was not so much to recall events

as to recapture the thoughts and feelings that swayed the Society twenty, thirty or nearly sixty years ago. But they have done so triumphantly.

It seemed right to give as much space as possible to those decades that are now far in the past. This decision meant that the account of more recent years has been curtailed. The response of past members to the appeal for funds to meet the cost of publication was most generous, and gave us great encouragement. Nevertheless, space is not unlimited, though we would have welcomed further material bearing on the period between 1916 and 1923.

There is a degree of overlapping in the following pages. College generations do overlap, and it seemed a gain rather than a defect that the Society at any moment should be described by a first-year as well as by a senior member. No doubt, this would become tedious if the contributors agreed fully with one another. Fortunately, they do not. They take up the different aspects that interest them; even when they discuss the same topic they often manage (as it was hoped they would manage) to disagree, sometimes on the law as well as on the facts or on the relative importance of personalities.

It was accepted also that the L. & H. is not influenced only by the succession of Auditors and officers and that it would seem strange indeed without the play of private business or the assistance, so abundantly and readily given, of the 'mob'. Lastly, this account of the Society is not confined to its proceedings. On one hand, it is almost impossible to understand its history without relation to events outside, to new political or social movements, or to changing modes of thought or action. On the other hand, it has seemed right that some reference should be made to other activities within the College, many of which were first planned by the Society or by its members.

This programme may seem dangerously long and ambitious. We hope that we will be judged to have come within a reasonable distance of fulfilling it. If there has been any failure, the fault assuredly does not lie with the contributors or with all those who were so patient in face of constant enquiries and so generous with their recollections.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SOCIETY which is described in these pages was established by Newman in what, then and later, appeared to be his unsuccessful attempt to foster a Catholic University in Dublin. It struck root and maintained its existence throughout the sustained struggle to obtain an adequate system of university education. Thus its history reflects that slow and painful growth by which the people from whom its members came regained equality in academic and professional life and, later still, in the government of their country. Its history is part of a wider story of a hundred years of change in Ireland.

The Literary and Historical Society, as its admirers have long claimed, and as others have been known to agree, is no ordinary debating society. It has had the experience, surely unusual among such societies, that it was established in one university and has survived through a second into a third. Its very meeting places attest the variety of its vicissitudes: besides a number of rooms and halls *intra muros*, they include the Antient Concert Rooms, the Mansion House, the University Church and (surely as good a place as could be found to alleviate enforced exile) the Dolphin Hotel. Its membership has brought together men of diverse beliefs and principles, John Dillon and Thomas MacDonagh, Arthur Clery and James Joyce, Rory O'Connor and Kevin O'Higgins. At one time or another it has heard the voice of almost everybody who has been prominent in modern Ireland; among them, Pearse and Mahaffy, John O'Leary and Yeats, Tim Healy and Jim Larkin, Mr. de Valera and Mr. Cosgrave.

A comparable society in an ancient university might well equal or excel these experiences. The L. & H. acquires a special interest from the circumstances of its foundation and development. Other comparable societies have been nearer to the sources of power than the L. & H., throughout most of its career, could ever hope to be. Elsewhere, a successful debating

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speech might be an important step in a career leading to high office. The debating society might well be a part, if only a small part at an early stage, in the business of government. The L. & H. could hope for none of these things. It was founded by Newman in a Catholic University that lacked state support or even recognition, that necessarily looked for both to the British government in Ireland. Its members would normally be in opposition, rarely in office. They were not members of a governing class: they were members of a governed people.

The strength of their position, from which flowed the ultimate success, was that even at the start the importance of the University to which they belonged was, if imperfectly, realised. The Catholic University was established and maintained by the pennies offered by many who could have had little comprehension of what dreams were in Newman's mind and less hope of sharing in the benefits that their realisation would bring. That generosity, sustained throughout years when the visible reality fell so far short of the ideal for so long, should never be remembered without gratitude by those who live in better times. Even in its least prosperous days, the University was a symbol. The L. & H., which was established in that University, cannot claim an unbroken existence; but at all times it has insisted on the continuity of the tradition which began with Newman.

In its early days, the Society was largely a literary academy. The comparative paucity of debates may have reflected a contemporary taste which ran rather to composition and criticism. In so far as propositions were discussed, it was almost inevitable that they should be far removed from contemporary affairs. Whatever chance there might be of a Charter would certainly have been prejudiced by undergraduate enthusiasms. Students should be seen—the more of them and the more often the better for hopes of official recognition—but they should not be heard. Somebody might say something. But even in those secluded days, the very fact of presence in a University that lacked a Charter must have confronted students with hard political facts. Even the least percipient must sometimes have paused to consider if the fact that his degree would carry no official recognition was dictated solely by considerations of educational policy.

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These matters may not have been important to the English and foreign students or to the sons of Irish landowners who played a large part in the L. & H. in its earliest years. But they must have struck home to those who came from the diocesan colleges and other Irish schools. It was inevitable that students coming to Dublin should bring with them the passions of the agrarian struggle and of the first essayings towards self-government, and that the Society's debates, however innocuous the motions might have been, should reflect their thought. By the end of the 1860's, the Society had invited Isaac Butt to its chair; a little later John Martin, Mitchel's friend, appeared. It is already a long way from the formal and remote proceedings of the early years. It is the beginning of that assumption on which every subsequent generation in the Society has acted, that it has the function of discussing every development in national life.

That assumption has often, and not always without reason, led to official embarrassment. But its growth was largely the result of official policy; and this brings us to another influence in the development of the Society. In the year of its foundation, in 1855-56, Catholic Ireland was almost without a platform. Into this period are crowded the death of Lucas and the departure of Gavan Duffy to Australia, the suicide of Sadleir and the elevation of Keogh to the Bench. It was a time of defeat. Defeat indeed was nothing new and was not irretrievable; but this was an hour of confusion and division and bitterness. Even for a debating society in the Catholic University it was a discouraging time. The Chancellor of the University, who was also the Archbishop of Dublin, regarded debating societies as nests of disaffection; and indeed just after this time the fate of the Phoenix National and Literary Society, whose members were prosecuted for seditious activities, would have confirmed his fears.

And yet, by a trick of political necessity, Dr. Cullen did as much as any man to set the Society on the path of political activity and publicity. His attempts to obtain a Charter from the governments of the 1860's forced him to find a platform on which the strength of the Catholic claim might be deployed.

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This he could find in the University, in the opportunity provided by the public inaugural meetings of the Society each year. As early as the middle and later 1860's, inaugurals began to be very like to what they are today, occasions for gatherings of public men, for pronouncements on the issues of the hour. To be sure, the subjects of auditorial addresses did not always bear an obvious relevance to the university question. That hardly mattered; even today the supporting speeches are not always relevant to the Auditor's address. Thus the Archbishop, who himself spoke at Dawson's inaugural in 1867, brought the Society into an awareness of the issues of high policy. It became accustomed to visits from men who moved in political life; and this was to have enduring consequences as the nationalist movement grew in strength and confidence. It is difficult to believe that Newman would have approved of this use of a university society. If that be so, it is an engaging thought that the Society may trace its foundation to Newman and the form of its development to Cullen.

The failure of the campaign for a Charter did not diminish the value of the Society as a Catholic platform. Such a platform was more urgently needed than ever in the 1870's, a decade of discouragement and perplexity for Catholics everywhere. At home, the number of students in the University was falling steadily, apart from the successful Medical School; and Gladstone's attempt at a settlement of the university question had been defeated. Abroad, these were the years of the loss of the Temporal Power and of the eclipse of France by Prussia. More widely, the Church had not yet grappled with the pervasive and increasingly confident arguments of the new scientific materialism. It was a time when some platform was needed; and the platform was provided by the inaugural meetings of the Society where a reply might be given approaching the level of the argument.

Nevertheless, the tide was already turning in those affairs that touched members most nearly. It is only in retrospect that the importance of Disestablishment in 1869 and of the Land Act in 1870 can be assessed. They were the first inroads into the structure of British government in Ireland. A little

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later still, by the 1880's, the tide runs still more strongly. The effects of the Intermediate Education Act in 1878, and the crucial decision to concentrate Catholic university education in the Jesuit University College, brought an access of variety and vitality. The emergence of an educated Catholic community was now in full progress. It was growing towards the light. The extent of the advance might be obscured by occasional reverses, the defeat of a Home Rule Bill or the Parnellite feuds. But the main current was forward; the settlement of the system of land tenure, land purchase, the Local Government Act were all unspectacular milestones on the path along which the new nation was to emerge. Gradually, long before 1921, the people were re-assuming the government.

In that advance the existence of University College was an essential factor. We sometimes forget how quickly things changed. In 1896, Gerald Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, defended his exercise of patronage by asserting that: 'He was certain that everybody in his position had felt the difficulty of finding Catholics who were fit to hold those positions, and the difficulty was largely due to the absence of a Catholic university education'. Twenty-five years later, the problem arose on a larger scale than the Chief Secretary or his critics could have imagined. But it was solved without trouble: there had been several decades of preparation in the dingy rooms of University College.

Inevitably, the Society shared in that resurgence. It was already what it has never quite ceased to be at any time, the meeting-place of those who were eager and questioning. Its hold on them was greater then perhaps than ever since, if only on account of the almost complete absence of any other form of student organisation. As a Society, it reflected the cross-currents of the times. It was not encouraged to discuss the major issues that were in the mind of every member. At the beginning of the Jesuit College we find some amusing fencing between the Society and the President on the wisdom of debating Home Rule. At its end we find him still reluctant to allow an inaugural address on that topic which (as it seems to us in the faulty perspective of hindsight), should have been innocuous

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enough by 1908. But, even if the Society did not debate these public affairs openly, it did its best to do so in the discussion of apparently irrelevant subjects; and it was kept in touch with major issues by those who were directly concerned with them and came to meetings as chairmen or as speakers at inaugural meetings.

Political affairs were not the sole objects of interest in those years. In the 1880's, marked attention was paid to literary topics, encouraged, one would like to think but dare not claim, by the presence of Gerard Manley Hopkins in the College. For the first time also, there were discussions on social and economic problems, and here one may more confidently trace the influence of Father Tom Finlay. And in those transcendent years at the turn of the century the members of the Society seemed to take all things for their province. Those were perhaps the most brilliant years of all. Years later, Arthur Clery wrote that: 'the old University College of the Catholic University succeeded at this period in producing a remarkably large number of persons who, to put it no higher, have got the public to talk about them'. The public has increased since then.

As the first decade of the century went by, the Society again devoted itself, or was devoted, to discussing the university question which this time was to be brought to a measure of solution by the Universities Act of 1908. It was only fitting, seeing how many previous meetings had been given to the subject, that the first announcement of the proposed legislation should have been made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland at Maurice Healy's inaugural in 1907.

By then, there had been a widening of interests which was to extend still more rapidly in the new University College. In the Society itself, there was certainly a widening of membership which reflected the growth in the number of students. Some echoes of the consequential clashes may be detected in contributions to this volume. The contributors are all very polite about these matters today; but it seems safe to assume that they were not always polite about them then. But, apart from such tense if domestic issues as the breaking of residential government, there were more important things to study in the

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outside world: the Gaelic League, the Young Ireland Branch, and all the gradual erosion of British rule in Ireland. In those early and hopeful years of the century it was no cause for wonder if members of the Society should feel that it was no far step from the Old Physics Theatre in 86 to the Old House in College Green. Yet, even with a Home Rule Parliament apparently imminent, the Society seems to have remained more interested in the machinery than in the aims of government, in who did the governing than in the purposes to which government might be put. So at least it may appear to a reader who can find so many references in the minutes to Home Rule and so few to issues such as those raised by the great Dublin lock-out of 1913. This may well be a mistaken view; it is rarely possible to enter into the thought of a previous student generation. If it is true, the rejoinder may well be that in preferring politics to economics, the Society only reflected the feeling of the nation. Self-government must be secured first, and then all things would be added. Men like Father Finlay and Sheehy-Skeffington differed very greatly in their thought; but they both stood a little aside from the main stream of hopes and interests.

The stream was to run less smoothly and straight than could have been foreseen in the last years of the European peace. It was to bear that generation to the promised land of self-government and to wider opportunities than could have been expected from any conceivable measure of Home Rule. But the cost was to be unimaguably high in broken lives and hopes. The achievement and the disillusionment were to be shared by all the nation; but most immediately by many who had played a part in events after they had left the Society. There were those who went to the war with Kettle for hopes that were unrealised; those, like John Dillon, who found themselves rejected by a new generation; those who were to know triumph and to be then cast down in civil war, of whom Kevin O'Higgins and Rory O'Connor may stand as high examples. At the end the Society lived into an independent state that suffered from the disillusionment of partition and civil war. If there is anything in its history of which it may be proud, it is the manner in which bitter quarrels were dissolved in its generous and tolerant

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atmosphere. It went on, a little self-consciously as has been well remarked, to assume the role of representative of the university thought of the new state; a role which has since become somewhat disregarded, either because youth now takes self-government for granted or because of the enforced isolation of Ireland during the war years. Perhaps now more than ever in its history, the Society has need to recall that eager and questioning outlook of Kettle and his generation, who were secure in their pride of nationality and religion and looked abroad for challenges to both that should be accepted, not evaded. But at all times, it has cherished its pieties; it remembers the causes, triumphant or unprosperous, in which its past members have engaged. If there is any place in Ireland where the history of the last half-century can be seen in perspective, it is in the Society of which Dillon and Kettle, O'Connor and O'Higgins, were all members. It keeps the past for pride.



Chapter I.

THE OLD SOCIETY (1855-1891)

ON FEBRUARY 17th, 1854, Dr. Newman, the newly appointed Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, wrote to his close friend, Ambrose St. John. He described his preparations for the first session of the University. He mentioned that he had 'set up a debating society'. It must be assumed that by this phrase he meant that a set of rules had been drafted rather than that a meeting had been held. There were then no students to provide the membership of the new society: the University was not opened until the following November.

A debating society, as we may learn from the brilliant pages of the most recent book on Newman¹, might well have been one of the first cares of the new Rector. It represented one of his most consistent interests. Years before, in 1819, as a very young man at Oxford, he conducted a periodical entitled *The Undergraduate*. Mr. Culler remarks that the significance of this journal lay in 'the feeling to which it testifies that so much of the process of education, if it is to be real education, must lie outside of the academic routine'. A paper which Newman wrote for *The Undergraduate*, but never published, foreshadowed the first actions of the Rector of the Catholic University. He proposed the establishment of a debating society which should meet fortnightly to discuss questions covering 'the whole range of history, poetry and the fine arts, indeed nothing should be excluded but the politics of the last fifty years'. On consideration, he doubled the period of limitation. Such a society 'would be a school for the future senator or lawyer, it would enlarge and refine the mind, it would be a most agreeable relaxation after the toils of the day'.

¹ *The Imperial Intellect*. A. Dwight Culler, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press, p.14.

Years later, during his Tractarian phase, Newman was not so confident. A debating society, he thought in 1834, might be the harbour of 'unbridled speculations and sophistical reasonings'¹. Twenty years later, he may have felt that a debating society in a Catholic University would be secure from such dangers; and therefore the setting-up of such a body was one of his first actions.

The tradition of that establishment is clear. It is derived from Thomas Maunsell who received one of the honorary degrees conferred by the National University of Ireland in 1915 on those who 'during their student days, for conscientious reasons, refrained from attending Institutions where they could have obtained a University Degree, and, in place thereof, resorted to the Catholic University of Ireland, which was unable to grant them that privilege'. At that ceremony, Maunsell recalled to Dr. Coffey, then President of University College, that he had been a member of the first committee of the L. & H. and that 'he clearly recollected that Dr. Newman summoned and presided over the first meeting, which was held in the basement of 86, where the Students' Restaurant is now situated'². We have the day and month of that meeting, but not the year. The rule-book, to which reference will shortly be made, speaks of 'the anniversary of the opening of the Society'; a manuscript note adds the annotation 'March 9th'. The year may have been 1855, or, more probably, 1856.

It is impossible to be definite on these matters. The first minute-book of the Society, which is known to have been in existence twenty-five years ago, has shared the fate of many later records and is lost from view at the moment of writing. It is to be hoped that it will be retrieved, even if the consequence be to contradict details of the narrative which follows. For the present, it must suffice to set out the information which is at present available on the early years of the Society.

This falls under two headings, a rule-book and notices in the contemporary press. The newspapers provide practically all the details now available of the early activities of the Society. The

¹ Ib.p.166.

² From an article on the L. & H. by Dr. Walter Treanor in the *National Student*, December, 1945

first minute-book at present to hand begins in 1882. Fortunately the very fact that the Catholic University was the subject of political and religious contention meant that its proceedings were often chronicled by the nationalist press; and the meetings of the Society were announced, if not with the regularity that the historian would desire. In some years notices appear comparatively frequently, in others there is only a note to state with irritating brevity that the Society had held its last meeting for the session, no names of officers, no medal awards. It may be surmised that the newspaper files do not tell all the story. There were times when, for one reason or another, the University did not appear in the papers, when there may have been political reasons for silence or when, as in the period following Newman's resignation, there was uncertainty in policy. But when allowance has been made for these possibilities, for the irregular habits of a new society, and for the well-known and unchanging habits of undergraduate secretaries, it is surprising how much information is still available.

The other source is the first rule-book. Its title-page, dated 1857, forms the frontispiece of this book. The preface, signed by Henry Bethell, the then President, is dated December 11th, 1856; and there is a manuscript note in this copy of a council meeting held eleven days later. This does not get us back to the desired session of 1855-56; that is achieved by the description on the title-page of 1857 as the second session.

We must therefore begin with the name of Henry Slingsby Bethell, President of the Historical, Literary and Aesthetical Society in the session 1856-57. These sonorous titles, it will be seen, have not survived unchanged. The change to the more familiar title of Auditor was made in 1862, after Newman had returned to Birmingham and the Oratory. It is not surprising that in a debating society which was under his special care, the chief officer should be known as President. What other title could be used? There were no Auditors in Oxford, though even then there were several in Dublin. The Society has also divested itself of part of its claims to universality. 'Aesthetical' has long since been dropped, its last official use being apparently at William Dillon's inaugural in 1869. The remaining adjectives

were transposed at least as early as the inaugural of Morgan Kavanagh in 1865.

It is worthwhile to recall who Henry Bethell was: it will throw some light on the composition of the Society in the early years. With his brother, Augustus Philip, he was one of the English students whom Newman attracted to Dublin. They were converts: their family came from Herefordshire. The most prominent representative of the family was then their uncle, Sir Richard Bethell, then Attorney-General, later to reach the Woolsack as Lord Westbury. He was not a Catholic. His views on religion were frequently, very frequently, expressed in pungent sarcasms at the expense of the divines of the Church of England. These were the years in which great scandal was given to many members of that Church (the effect of the Gorham judgment on Manning will come to mind), by the spectacle of the Courts interpreting as matters of law what were felt to be articles of faith. The opportunity to lay down judicially what should be believed by members of the Establishment appealed to the Chancellor's sardonic nature. By a famous judgment affecting its teaching on eternal punishment, he 'dismissed Hell with costs and took away from the orthodox members of the Church of England their best Hope of Eternal Damnation.'

This gave offence. More mundane activities by some of his appointees gave deeper offence still; and the Chancellor was obliged to relinquish the Great Seal. It was said that when handing it to his successor, the Queen was pleased to observe: 'You see, my Lord, how much better it is to be Good than to be Clever'. But all that was in the future when the Bethells, trailing about them these agreeable airs of the Victorian mid-century, put their names on the roll of the Catholic University.

The Bethells represented the English Catholic element in the University. There were other, more exotic, elements. The idea of a Catholic University drew a number of grandees from the Continent. Within five years or so they (and the English) had disappeared; but at the outset they added an unexpected touch of colour to the modest beginnings in Stephen's Green. It is with feelings not far removed from awe that one reads the

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list of 'Acting Members' in the 1857 rule-book, beginning—

M.le Prince Charles de Ligne.

M.le Prince Edouard de Ligne.

M.le Comte Etienne Zamoyiski.

M.le Vicomte Louis de Vaulchier.

M.Charles de la Pasture.

Honble.Henry Fraser.

Sir Reginald Barnewall, Bart

Sir Richard or no Sir Richard, the Bethells could get no higher than ninth and tenth in this ordered procession. Even Daniel O'Connell's grand-son and namesake comes in only fourteenth.

It will be seen that matters were not so dignified as this list might suggest. It goes far however to confirm the recollection of Thomas Maunsell, whom Father Fergal McGrath, S.J., quotes in his definitive work, *Newman's University*, that: 'the Debating Society met in one of the basement rooms in No. 86 St. Stephen's Green, and it was a common occurrence for its deliberations to be enlivened by the appearance of some late arrival in white cords and scarlet jacket, splashed with the mud of Meath or Kildare'. Not without reason, obviously, did the rules of 1857 forbid the wearing of top-boots at meetings of the Society. The very first point of order of which we have record was occasioned by the appearance of M. le Comte in hunting pink.

To return to Henry Bethell. Like his uncle, he was Clever. He won a prize from the Government-sponsored School of Science applied to the Arts. This was carefully publicized by the University, then understandably anxious to show the standard of its teaching on all possible occasions. For us, his particular interest is that he is the first President of whom we have record; and his is the first inaugural address in a long and varied series.

It was delivered on Monday, January 26th, 1857, in No. 1 Lecture-Hall, University House, St. Stephen's Green at seven o'clock. Its theme was the unpromising subject of *Taste and Genius*. It was well reported, as 'the first meeting of the Society for the present session'. Mr. Bethell:

commenced by laying down a theory of taste, based on the philosophical hypothesis of innate ideas. He examined closely the process of an aesthetical judgment, pointing out the evil effects of love of conventionality, confused association of ideas, and the presence of moral evil in the mind, towards the corruption of the first principles of taste, and the danger, present and future, of an indolent exercise of the imagination or the reason in the application of these principles. He examined the taste of an uneducated mind, and the ways in which faulty taste is generally corrected. He warned his audience against the belief that the unassisted influence of natural beauty might be depended upon for the correction of taste, bringing forward, as an instance to the contrary, the failure of nature's influence displayed in English literature from 'Paradise Lost' to Thompson's 'Seasons'. He dwelt especially upon those departments of aesthetics which the society chiefly had in view and concluded by exhorting all members to do their utmost for themselves and for one another in these several departments.

The vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Hayden and seconded by Dr. Cryan, both of the Catholic University Medical School. Here, surely, we should pause. In this year, the Medical School in Cecilia Street was in its first session. It and the L. & H. may justly claim to be the sole survivors into the present College of the foundations of the Catholic University. The Medical School of course had an unbroken existence from its foundation until its fusion with the College, which is more than the Society can claim. But it is a pleasant surprise to find the two joined together at so early a date. There is a closer link still. The Dr. Hayden who proposed the first vote of thanks for an inaugural was the father of Professor Mary Hayden who will be remembered by many as a good friend of the Society and a welcome guest as chairman until her retirement from the Professorship of Modern Irish History in 1938. We will meet her again in these pages, in circumstances that would have been inconceivable to the audience of 1857. These are pleasant and unexpected ties.

The programme of that session of 1856-57 will repay study. It goes as follows:—

Feby. 9th Paper: *The Identity of Origin and the Varieties of the Human Race.*

English Verse Essay.

Paper: *The Formation of Alphabets as Illustrated by Egyptian Hieroglyphics.*

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- Feby. 25th. Paper: *Dryden and Swift*.
English Verse Essay.
- Mar. 23rd. Paper: *The Influence of Ireland upon Anglo-Saxon Literature*.
English Verse Essay.
- May 18th. Paper: *Richelieu and Mazarin*.
A verse composition.
- Jun. 15th. Paper: *The Life and Writings of Silvio Pellico*.
- Jul. 16th. Lecture: *The Student Life and the Principles of Success*.

The papers were given sometimes by the students, sometimes by the professors who, however, prudently abstained from the delivery of verse compositions. It is possibly no wonder that at this time the Society did not meet every week. Formal debates seem to have been few in this period. The earliest of which there is record was in 1858 when the Society debated a question which had at least the advantage of being removed from current politics: *Which was the greater man, Julius Caesar or Napoleon?* Leaders of debate were appointed for the evening, a Mr. Ahern and a Mr. Molyneaux. Their task may not have been inspiring, but it was at least less onerous than that of the then President, Mr. Hugh Hyacinth MacDermot (later The MacDermot), who had read a poetical composition at the previous meeting. This is one usage of the Society which, it seems safe to say, will not be revived by any Auditor. Still, it should have presented no difficulties to Mr. MacDermot. In his student career he won University prizes for poems on such arresting and varied subjects as *The Giant's Causeway* and *The Death of the Late Archbishop of Paris*.

MacDermot figures in the recollections of this period which John Augustus O'Shea, the journalist who was then a student in the University, published under the title of *Roundabout Recollections*. Of MacDermot he writes: 'we always thought Mac was a hard, dry, conical-section and Aldrich's logic sort of a wight He used to say he meant to die Lord Chancellor of Ireland'. So well he might, had it not been for the prolonged period of Tory rule between 1895 and 1905. As it was, he had

been Solicitor-General and Attorney-General under the preceding Liberal governments.

The themes for debate were not such as to provoke excitement. O'Shea recalls:

If we had views on politics—which we were not encouraged to have—their tincture was not distinctively Irish. The consideration of themes coming within the present century was forbidden by superior orders in our debating club. We were at liberty to discuss the propriety of the suppression of the Knights Templars, or the policy of the Duke of Alva, or to compare the Augustan age of Roman literature with that of Queen Anne in these realms; but with aught that happened since the Union between Great Britain and Ireland we were not allowed to meddle. It was preserved ground, and the season was a close season all the year round for us. It was understood that this was the rector's desire, and his desire was law. Perhaps it was as well, there were so many slumbering elements there which might easily have been stirred into discordant wakefulness.

In fact one of the rules provided that: 'No member may introduce the subject of British politics of the last fifty years'. Having regard to the composition of the Society, indeed, debates on such subjects might well have left the Irish students unmoved. O'Shea notes that: 'The preparatory colleges from which the University was fed were more frequently English than Irish. To be sure, we had freshmen from the Jesuit seminaries of Tullabeg and Clongowes Wood¹, but not at all in such numbers as from Stonyhurst, Oscott, Downside and St. Edmund's.' For the rest, the further point of interest lies in the subjects of debate to which O'Shea refers. They do not appear in the reports of the sessions 1856-59, on which our information seems reasonably full. The commentator must hopefully surmise that they come from the lost session of 1855-56.

Elsewhere in his *Recollections*, O'Shea writes more generally of the Society:

¹ If so, they were less avid of power than their successors fifty years later. Of those whom we can trace in the first years of the Society, MacDermot was privately educated and spent some years at Maynooth before coming to the University; Butler and Kavanagh (the Auditors of 1863-64 and 1864-65) came from Carlow College; Farrelly (1861-62) from St. Patrick's, Cavan. MacDonnell (1865-66) may have been at Clongowes; O'Connor (1866-7) was at St. Muireadach's, Ballina, and George Fottrell (1870-71) at Belvedere.

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Our debating club was styled 'The Historical, Literary and Aesthetical Society'. We met once a week, on Mondays, and had discussions on set subjects, of any period previous to this century, given out beforehand, and the reading of original poems or papers with subsequent criticisms on alternate nights. The chairman (appointed in rotation) was a student; so were the speakers pro and con, two on each side, who were entrusted with the attack and defence, but any student who chose might take part in the wordy combat within certain limits of time. The topics, as I have mentioned, were scrupulously stale, but we managed to galvanize the dry bones of the past into some spasmodic semblance of vitality.

It may appear to have been a highly formal Society; but appearances can be deceptive. Nothing could seem more tranquil than the agenda for Wednesday, March 24th, 1858, when Professor Robertson read a paper on *The British Constitution of 1688*. The subject was discreetly chosen. It enshrined the principles of the Whig party whose contemporary representatives might (it was then thought) be induced to grant a Charter to the University. Few subjects could be more topical, if not immediately attractive to Irish youth. But the proceedings were not in the least placid; they provide the first occasion on which a meeting of the Society was marred by some disorder.

The cause of the disorder had nothing to do with the University and less than nothing to do with the Society. Some days before the meeting, the Earl of Eglinton and Winton, returning as Lord Lieutenant, had made his State Entry into the city. The procession moved without incident through the streets to College Green where there was some scuffling between the students of Trinity and the police. The subsequent baton charges were executed with what was thought to be unnecessary vigour, and the Superintendent of Police was prosecuted by the Trinity authorities. In the meantime, the excitement spread across the Green. The *Evening Mail* reported on March 10th that the students of the Catholic University had made common cause with Trinity against the police. This seems to have caused some confusion among those then in charge at 86. The Rector was away; and they may well have felt that such goings-on would not be well viewed by Archbishop Cullen. Worse was to follow at Professor Robertson's lecture; the tale was sadly

told to the absent Rector by his Professor of Logic, D. B. Dunne.

I am ashamed to say that from the commencement to the end of the lecture, the conduct of the body of students collected at the end of the room, and unfortunately they included most of the students of the University, was so bad that worse could with difficulty be conceived.

A list of offences is then enumerated, ranging from 'mocking the lecturer's accent' to upsetting a blackboard. What was worse was that 'the young lady portion of the audience' appeared to enjoy it. Finally, 'a rumour has reached me that some of the students were under the influence at least of intoxicating drink'.

Fortunately, Professor Dunne could find some consolation in the activity of the President. Augustus Bethell may or may not have been Clever. He was Good. 'I cannot say too much for Augustus Bethell's conduct. He seemed to do his utmost to moderate the disturbances . . . There is loud and general praise of Augustus Bethell.' But, as has happened to many Auditors since then, these efforts were not wholly successful. A Mr. Hanly, having been asked by Bethell not to insult the Lord Mayor, committed the enormity of saying 'that he did not give a damn for the Lord Mayor'.

Robertson's own report to Newman begins more cheerily. 'We had a grand gala night on the 24th March.' In his version the disturbance is heavily scaled down. 'The only drawback was the noisy behaviour of some six or seven students who during the last two months have been more or less riotous and turbulent. The noise took place at the close of the proceedings when the President of the Society was interrupted in his speech. Every word of my lecture and every word that fell from the Lord Mayor and Surgeon Ellis were heard at the far end of the room.' This put the matter in a very different light. To interrupt the Lord Mayor was serious: his influence might some day be needed in the campaign for a Charter for the University. To interrupt the President was comparatively venial; it is to be feared that the authorities felt much the same about him as Mr. Hanly felt about the Lord Mayor. But post-mortems went on for some time. W. G. Penny, who acted as Head of St.

Mary's House in Newman's absence, commented on affairs in the most gloomy strain. 'Segar' he wrote 'is idle and slang in his talk—and often, I fear, worse than slang. He has done much to lower the tone in the House' Nor was anything better to be expected from those who, by their station in life, should have given a better example. 'Some of the youths are extremely troublesome and irregular. The Princes follow in the wake of the Count'

However, the row blew over as rows do and ended in reconciliation all round. The Commissioner of Police was acquitted. Lord Eglinton enjoyed his sojourn in Dublin, which has been commemorated by the erection of a statue in face of his favourite resort, the University Club, where he spent most of the Viceroyalty at the card-table. The L. & H. returned to quieter ways. On May 3rd it listened to a paper by Mr. Segar on *Taste* and to poetry composed by Mr. de la Pasture. On June 14th, Mr. Segar (surely a misjudged man) read another paper, this time on *Recreation*, and Mr. Molloy read his poetry. Having thus worked their passage, the students ended the year with a match against a cricket club known, loyally and possibly profitably, as 'the Eglintons'. The match was over early, the university batting (in spite of Mr. Molloy's efforts) breaking down badly twice; but prestige was restored by an impromptu sports in which the versatile Mr. MacDermot distinguished himself. It was a good day, that 8th of July, 1858, if one is to believe the *Freeman's Journal*:

A band, provided by the Eglintons, was in attendance and discoursed music, under the conductorship of Herr von Tramp. The ladies also graced the meeting with their presence, arrayed in crinolines of the most gorgeous amplitude, which spread in wavy folds round the persons of their fair owners.

In the next year, 1858-59, MacDermot was President. The proceedings still consisted, so far as we can gather from the newspaper reports, of papers and the reading of poetical compositions. At the end of the year the President set his successors an example, which they enthusiastically followed until debarred from doing so, by winning the gold medal for debate. Reporting

the final meeting in July, the *Freeman's Journal* remarked, not perhaps without a side-glance elsewhere, that:

The ability, energy and success with which the proceedings of the society have been conducted during the past session augur well for its future greatness, and while we look back with admiration and regret to the union of Irish eloquence and Irish patriotism which adorned the last century, the hope is not lightly founded which connects the debating society of the Irish Catholic University with its not distant restoration.

That was all very well; but the next two sessions, 1859-60 and 1860-61, are tantalisingly vague. In both years the Society met: reporting the last meeting of 1859-60, the *Morning News* remarked that: 'The talent and energy manifested by the members during the session, and the consequent success of the society, formed the subject of several congratulatory speeches at the close of the meeting'. But, beyond a couple of names, that is all the information that is available.

No doubt, the uncertainty that surrounded the University at this time had its effect. In November, 1858, Newman spent his last days in Dublin. His resignation, however, was not accepted formally until August, 1859. His successor, Dr. Bartholemew Woodlock, President of All Hallows College, was not appointed until April, 1861.

In the next session, 1861-62, the Society got to work earlier than had been its custom. In the previous years, there is no record of any general meeting in the Michaelmas term. In 1861, however, Philip Farrelly was elected President on October 22nd and the inaugural address was fixed for the 28th; an excellent example for later generations, even if it does seem that Mr. Farrelly must have felt unusually sure of election. But for the rest of the year, there is again little; and it is from another source that we learn that the President was guilty of a breach of discipline in returning late at night to the College after a visit to Maynooth, for reasons which surely cast no reflection on him or on his hosts. The gold medal that he won from the Society for verse-writing is still preserved in the College library. A closer link is his relationship to the most recent pair of brothers

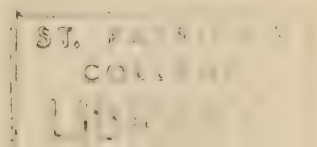
to hold the auditorship, the second of them in the centenary year.

Philip Farrelly was the last of the Presidents. His successor, John Kean or Keane, in 1862-63 was the first to bear the title of Auditor. The change reflects a re-organisation of the University and, as it appears, of the Society. The new Rector expanded greatly the evening classes which had been initiated by Newman. John Kean was one of the evening students; another, who is better known to us, was John Devoy. For the next two years, the newspaper reports refer to the 'Historical and Literary Society connected with St. Patrick's College'. St. Patrick's College was situated in 86; it had been one of Newman's foundations. It is not clear, in the absence of the records, whether the existing Society was merged in the new or whether, though it seems improbable, two debating societies co-existed, one for the evening and one for the matriculated students. In any case, if it was suspended, the Historical, Literary and Aesthetical Society was quickly restored. But in the sessions 1862-63 and 1863-64, the Society that we hear of is the Historical and Literary Society with an Auditor whose title, however reminiscent it might be of the Roman Rota, was probably modelled on the prevailing fashion in Dublin. The *Evening Mail*, never a friend of the Catholic University in those days, wrote on October 16th, 1862:

Dr. Woodlock is a more enterprising rector than poor Newman of the Birmingham Oratory. He has not only established this evening school, with a 'Historical and Literary Society' attached, to counteract the debating clubs at present in favour among young men, but has bought the manuscripts of Professor O'Curry to amuse the leisure of its members.

However this may have been, Kean's year seems to have been most successful. At its end, his secretary and successor, John Butler, could point to a programme that *mutatis mutandis* would look well to-day; eight debates, thirteen papers and four public lectures.

It had opened badly. Once again, Professor Robertson was in the centre of the trouble. This was, as it seems, no fault of his: the accounts of him are agreeable, if critical. To O'Shea:



Robertson we prized for his amiability. He was the *beau idéal* of a courtier of the old *régime*, had suave and polished manners, with a simplicity and gracious sincerity all his own. He was tall, thin and stooped, with a sallow complexion like parchment tightly stretched over the facial bone-structure. Hence the nick-name of 'Death's Head' was bestowed upon him under the rose. He was very fond of society, and was much sought after in the salons of Dublin, where the feeble old gentleman, all smiles and attention, was sure to be seen piloting the prettiest girl in the room through the maze of some stately dance.

John Devoy is more forthright.

My knowledge of the professorial staff of the University was derived from attendance at the evening lectures which were established for a while to enable young men who were not in the University to prepare for matriculation . . . The professors very generously undertook to give lectures to the classes. Among those who were most painstaking was Robertson, the Professor of History and Geography. He was a very genial old man, and his lectures were very interesting, but I learned nothing of either history or geography from him.

The inaugural address of this new Society, then, was delivered by Professor Robertson on January 23rd, 1863. The title was: *On the Life and Writings of Chateaubriand*. Professor Ornsby was in the chair: the Rector was present. Among others noted by the Press was Mr. MacDermot, already an embodiment of L. & H. tradition. The lecturer got away to a good start.

The Literary and Historical Society in connection with St. Patrick's College had among its students a large number of young men who belonged to the various commercial establishments in the city, who, instead of wasting their time in idle amusements, attended the University to study the acquirement of languages, the prosecution of historical research, and the study of science. Some of them pursue their studies to gratify a refined taste, but others studied with a higher object, to prepare themselves for the learned professions (*Cheers*). By these means they became a credit to the noble people of this country (*Cheers*). He thought he could not do better in inaugurating the society than to treat of the life and writings of Chateaubriand, who was distinguished for his attachment to his religion and loyalty to his legitimate sovereign (*Cheers*).

He commenced his lecture by stating that he was personally acquainted with many of the friends and acquaintances of Chateaubriand. . . .

He was indeed; his acquaintanceship was so ample that a single lecture was insufficient to exhaust it. Later in the session, the Society met again to hear more about Chateaubriand and his friends. But before that, Professor Robertson was to be disillusioned about the prevailing degree of loyalty to legitimate sovereigns, French or British.

On March 10th of that year the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess Alexandra. The event was celebrated in Dublin by a general illumination of public buildings. The *Freeman's Journal* of the next day carried an account of the designs adopted by the Bank of Ireland, by Trinity College, and by other institutions which might be expected to take note of the event. It was not until the next day again that it reported that the illuminations of the Catholic University 'consisted of three huge leaves in gas jets springing from a single stem, with the letters "A.A." also in gas jets. The illuminations shone lustroously for some time when they were extinguished.'

That was a little less than the truth; but it was not until nine days after the event that the *Freeman* brought itself to state that some students had cut the gas-pipes.

It was a golden opportunity to embarrass the University. The opportunity was seized. The hostile *Express* commented that: 'Treasonable, irreligious, democratic and revolutionary societies have actually got a footing within the walls of this sectarian institution; their abettors fill some of its chairs'. Another comment was that:

the intensely religious and highly refined youths of the Catholic University were so filled with envy, hatred and malice that rather than manifest the slightest token of sympathy with the young and beautiful bride, and the amiable Prince her husband, they broke out into open rebellion against the Rector of the University and against the prelates who rule over the institution.

But, to borrow a phrase from where it won't be missed, 'even envy wore a friendly smile' when the Prince visited Dublin

three years later. Having observed protocol by a prior appearance in Trinity, he arrived at 86 with a retinue of notabilities who were unlikely to have been seen there before or after. He was loyally greeted.

The students, who all appeared in caps and gowns, and lined the hall, staircase and passages, cheered the Prince and the Lord Lieutenant in the most vigorous and hearty style—a demonstration which was repeatedly and graciously acknowledged.

Better still, H.R.H. was shown over the Library, where the importance of 'the Celtic manuscripts' was explained to him; perhaps the earliest instance of compulsory Irish. When he left, he might have been excused for thinking that it had been a heavy day. But Professor Robertson must have been a hoarse and happy man as round the Green the cheering died away.

The transports of loyalty were such that at his inaugural two years later Gossan hoped that 'the graceful recognition extended to us by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his recent visit to our shores, may, ere another twelvemonth pass away, be ratified by the august ruler of these realms'. But Majesty did not come for another thirty-one years; and thoughts had changed by then.

Thoughts were not wholly loyal even in the 1860's, so creating further embarrassment for the University. Some days before the Prince's marriage, the *Morning News* published a manifesto which complained of the custom of observing the Queen's Birthday as a holiday in the University and of the 'still more needless and offensive outrage' of marking the royal marriage. This feeling had important results, which were noted by John Devoy.

The University was supported mainly by collections in the churches. The members of the Dublin Confraternities went around collecting the money in the various churches. The people subscribed according to their means. I gave two-pence a week; my brother four-pence; and my father six-pence a week. When the Prince of Wales was married in 1863, all the loyalist shop-keepers in Dublin put up illuminations, and the University did the same. One of the students, J. P. McDonnell, later editor of a labour paper in Pater-

son, N.J., led a group of students which tore down the illuminations, and he was expelled for doing so. That brought about a boycott of the University, and hundreds of families stopped subscribing. This action against young McDonnell was one of the causes which led to the stoppage of the evening classes, but many of the young men had already been matriculated from them.

Some further details are recalled by Professor Tom Dillon. His father and his uncle, John and Val Dillon, were at the University at this time. There were also two Hanly brothers, John and his younger brother Con. It would be pleasant to be able to identify John as the enemy of the Lord Mayor in 1858 and of the Royal Family in 1863. One cannot be certain: in the records of the period John appears only in a letter of introduction to Newman which was written by Scratton, the Secretary of the University. Scratton remarked: ' . . . he is a very good fellow but does not seem inclined to work much'. As the story goes, Val Dillon was hoisted up on the shoulders of other students and cut the gas-pipe over the door of 86, thus extinguishing the A.A. for Albert and Alexandra and the Prince of Wales' feather, to the cheers of a large crowd. He was sent down from the University, whereupon one of the Hanlys came forward and claimed that he should also be sent down as he had also been in action. This gave some difficulty to the Dean, a Father O'Loughlin, who was a visitor to Hanly's home. Val Dillon was thereupon reprieved but refused to return. The two families have been well represented in the Society since then: the Dillons by John's grand-daughter Blánaid, now Mrs. Eoin O'Brolcháin, who won the ladies' medal for Oratory in her time; while the Hanly connection has been preserved by the Sweetmans in the 1920's and by Dermot Hanly who was a candidate for the auditorship in 1932.

The Rector could not solve his difficulties as easily as the Dean. The incident had received attention in *The Times*. Fearful of the effect of such publicity on the chances of a Charter, Dr. Woodlock wrote to Newman asking him to help in the refutation of charges against the University. 'I feel quite certain', he wrote, 'that no two or three of our professors encouraged the

students who were guilty of the late act of insubordination'. And later, with some natural annoyance; 'many a worse act than this foolish pseudo-national escapade in which the majority saw no disloyalty has been passed over in the Queen's Colleges and Trinity College'.

But it was purposeless of Dr. Woodlock to argue that the students 'have unanimously signed an apology for their recent disorderly conduct'. (The apology appears to have taken the following form: 'That they deem it due as an atonement for the recent violation of College discipline to express their deep regret for and disapproval of the act which has merited the condemnation of the Rector and other authorities'.) From the Rector's point of view, the harm was done. Students of the Queen's Colleges or of Trinity might act as badly or worse; but those institutions possessed Charters. The Catholic University did not. The position was not redeemed by cheers for the Prince of Wales or by Gossan's admirable sentiments which, perhaps, had been suggested to him by the harassed Rector.

Thus the University was forced to steer a cautious course, attempting on one side to avoid offence to the Government, on the other to avoid alienation from national feeling. It was a difficult, perhaps an impossible, task. The rest of 1863 was filled with attacks on the University and its professors for 'not being national in outlook'. Kavanagh, the Professor of Elementary Mathematics, replied to these attacks and referred to the Literary and Historical Society where 'papers of a national character' were often read. This was in the session in which Robertson delivered his lectures on Chateaubriand but there were also papers on *The scenic poetry of Ireland* and *On early civilisation in Ireland*. These topics, however admirable in themselves, were unlikely to appease the critics, but the nearest to contemporary problems that the Society approached in debate was the motion: *Are the Volunteers of '82 entitled to the grateful remembrance of Irish Catholics?* It is probable, however, that, then as later, the Society was able to express its feelings in spite of innocuous motions. Thus, later in that session, it debated a motion that lent itself to an ample interpretation: *That its Connection with Great Britain is more beneficial to Canada than Independence*. After that

excursion into high politics, it returned a little inconsequently to the discussion of a paper: *On the Political Influence exercised by the Jesuits in South America*. The general tone of its proceedings continued to be literary and general; at a typical meeting in the next session, 1863-64, it listened to two papers; one by Mr. Kean: *On systematic and discursive Reading*, the other by a Mr. O'Hare: *A Glance at Etrurian Civilization*.

In that session John Butler was Auditor. It seems to have been a busy year. The inaugural address was read on November 5th; the other papers included such subjects as *The Neglect of the Resources for Irish Fiction* and *Some of the characteristics of Savage Life in North America*. The Society also debated the question: *Is the entire Career of Edmund Burke deserving of our Admiration?* This year, however, the second of the 'Literary and Historical Society connected with St. Patrick's College', was also its last. As was to happen later, the Society insisted on returning to its origins.

The occasion may have been connected with the suspension of the evening lectures. All that can be said with certainty is that on January 24th, 1865, 'the opening meeting of the revived Literary, Historical and Aesthetical Society' was held. The inaugural address was: *On the Scope and Pretensions of the Society*, read by the Auditor, Morgan Kavanagh. At the end, the Rector:

expressed the great pleasure he had felt in giving the humble sanction of his presence to the re-organisation of the society on the same basis, with the same rules, and in the same form as that in which it was sanctioned by his illustrious predecessor, Dr. Newman, the Founder of the Catholic University.

As the sixties wore on, the Society was brought into contact willy-nilly with the course of political developments. The grant of a Charter to the University appeared to be proximate in the years 1865-67. The Society was used as a platform, as was again to happen ten and forty years later, for the statement of the case for a recognized University for Irish Catholics. The inaugural addresses in this period were surely designed for the

purpose; O'Connor in 1866-67 on *The Meaning of Culture and Education* and Dawson in the next year on *Toleration*, subjects which might be academic in appearance but could be, and were, made both political and topical. The University authorities now appear more frequently and in greater numbers. The Rector took the chair which, he was careful to remark: 'he took, not as Rector of the University but as President of the Society'. Cardinal Cullen also appeared for the first time, proposing the vote of thanks to Dawson and delivering a closing address at the end of that session, accompanied by an oddly-assorted retinue which included 'the Most Rev. Dr. Whelan, Archbishop of Bombay; Sir William Wilde; Sergt. Barry, M.P.; Mr. Barron, High Sheriff of Waterford, and Mr. David Sherlock, Q.C.'.

In this period, however, it is possible to sense the growth of another concept of the status of the University. For Newman as, in another interpretation, for Cullen, it was designed to be the Catholic University of Ireland. Before the end of the 1860's, there appears the suggestion that it was destined to be the National University of Ireland. The remarks in this sense seem to have been made in answer to statements made at the meetings of the College Historical Society. These statements, as will appear at once, were not made by the Auditors of the Historical but by those who spoke at their inaugural meetings; especially by Mr. Justice Keogh who might be guaranteed to provoke an answer to any observation that he might make on any subject. Thus, at the inaugural of the Historical in 1864 he referred to the number of Trinity men in the service of the Crown and went on to ask: 'Where can the youth of Ireland fit themselves for such a combat better than in that great training school of Irish intellect which is, despite all competition no matter from whence it comes, the National University of Ireland?'

Two years later, again at the inaugural meeting of the Historical, he expressed himself more fully. It is fair to add that he had received unexpected provocation from the terms of an inaugural address which occasioned much comment. The Auditor, Richard O'B. Law, declared that:

It is not the nations of the east alone who have had their prosperity blighted by the commercial rapacity and domineering pride of imperial England. Far nearer home a cry of misery has for centuries been ringing in her ears, extorted from the bitter degradation of oppressed and suffering Ireland (*great applause*). Her religion converted into a pretext for entailing upon her people an inheritance of political servitude and social contumely: her manufacturers suppressed to soothe the jealousy and bloat the prosperity of Lancashire (*hisses and applause*); the development of her material resources in general sacrificed on the altar of English trade (*hisses and applause*), it was but natural that Ireland should prove a constant thorn in the side of the country which had so consistently wronged and misgoverned her (*hisses and applause*). Bitterly as Ireland has suffered, England, too, has been compelled from time to time to reap the whirlwind she has sown (*hisses and applause*).

In its report of the meeting, on November 15th, 1866, the *Freeman's Journal* stated that 'the auditor was frequently interrupted by the hissing of the assemblage, and as frequently by the applause'. There seems to have been some difficulty in obtaining a seconder for the vote of thanks. It is proper to record that a fortnight later the Historical voted its thanks to the Auditor and resolved to publish his address at its expense. But, in the circumstances of the time, it was too much to expect that the audience would take an objective view of such sentiments. The fear of Fenianism was at its height. James Stephens had escaped from gaol a year before: the rising was only five months away. It was certainly too much to expect Mr. Justice Keogh to take a detached view. He remarked that the inaugural:

was an indication that in this great and ancient university, you do not waste your time in empty casuistical subtleties; that you concern yourselves with the absolute and the positive, and that you little regard the conjunctural or chance; that you look on the position and situation of men, not only in your own country, but even come into contact with the various countries of the world, and with their various international arrangements. . . . But I will not even in this assembly, where many may differ from me in opinion, stand idly by and hear silently the great and glorious empire to which our destinies are inseparably attached (*applause*)—I will not hear of my country, which presents the greatest career to a young man in this island that no country ever yet presented since

the beginning of the world, spoken of in a detracting spirit (*applause*). I will not stand and hear, if I can with my voice refute the calumnies spoken of her as the enemy of the oppressed, as the trampler upon the liberties of mankind, as the crusher of freedom of opinion (*applause*). We are told that the nations of Europe are reforming themselves, and so they are. But I will be glad to know has any man forgotten the important part England has always taken in the march of civilisation to the freedom of the human race (*hear, hear, and applause*).

Things go by contraries; and any speech by Keogh was calculated to produce a reaction on the south side of St. Stephen's Green. It was no wonder that D. C. Heron, an Auditor of the Historical in 1846, should have been applauded when he declared at Gossan's inaugural a couple of years later that he 'was privileged to address an audience in the hall of the National University of Ireland. I use these words deliberately for there was a time when Trinity College might have aspired to be the National University of Ireland but it has deliberately forsaken that privilege.' Most of the audience, we may imagine, were not so much immediately concerned with Heron's criticism of his university as with Mr. Justice Keogh. Whatever Keogh affirmed must be wrong; whatever he denounced must be right. This train of thought had many implications. Newman had had one concept of a Catholic University in Dublin. Cullen had another. A phrase such as 'the National University' suggested yet another purpose, at once wider and more narrow.

Around this time the Society suddenly becomes familiar. It may be admitted that the reading of poetical compositions is remote from our habits; and the atmosphere of an academy has long been lost, though it was to enjoy a new lease at the turn of the century. But inaugurals, practically if not yet admittedly, on subjects of political importance, speeches from people in public life, these can be recognised by the modern Society even if the trappings are different, Members of Parliament, High Sheriffs, even Serjeants at Law and Queen's Counsel now all gone with the wind. For the first time, in these years the hope that moved the nation found an echo in the Society. Even to-day, when one reads John O'Hagan's speech at Gossan's inaugural in 1868 its passion has power to move. That night, as it seemed,

the country stood on the edge of better things. The date was the 12th November, 1868, a fortnight before the General Election that swept Gladstone into power with a mission 'to pacify Ireland'. All things seemed possible then. Indeed, it may be argued that that ministry was the beginning of modern Ireland: by Disestablishment it made the first breach in the Act of Union, by its Land Act it intervened for the first time on the side of the tenant. These things must have been felt dimly by the House that night as it cheered O'Hagan. But the third point in Gladstone's policy, the settlement of the University question, was the one that touched it most nearly and was the one fated to defeat. As has happened so often since, hopes ran high and were frustrated. All but forty years were to elapse before the present University settlement was reached. It was fitting that its first announcement should come from the Chief Secretary at an inaugural meeting of the Society. But that did not happen until 1907, long after the hopes of 1868 had turned to dust.

There is another reason why we should discover a feeling of familiarity in these years. The names are names that we know. The Princes and the Counts have departed; their place is filled by families who still play no small part in Irish life. The Charles Dawson who was Auditor in 1867-68 was the father of William Dawson who was Auditor in 1902-03 and is still remembered with affection by his friends. Five years later came Michael Cox who, with his son Arthur, the Auditor of 1912-13, provides the only other instance of father and son in the auditorship. William Dillon, who was Auditor in 1869-70, was followed five years later by his younger brother, John. The name, to say the least, has survived into another generation. These are links that the Society does well to cherish.

In these years the habit was formed of inviting public men to address the Society on formal occasions. The Rector, Monsignor Woodlock, lost no opportunity of keeping the University in the public eye and found the Society to be a useful means to that end. In June 1869 he presented Cullen's nephew, the future Cardinal Moran, who lectured on *An Irish Missionary of the Sixth Century and his Works*. Ten days later Isaac Butt

lectured on *The Early History of Venice*. It is not, perhaps, the subject which might have been expected from the Father of Home Rule. But that issue was not far from mind, if reliance can be placed on the press report which stated that:

Mr. Butt prefaced his lecture with a graceful allusion to the usefulness of the Society which, he said, reminded him of another society in a kindred institution. He hoped they would send to the Senate and the Bar, Currans and Grattans and Berkeleys and that they might meet at no distant day in a noble hall hard by and take counsel for the nation.

This sentiment was no doubt well received, if, that is to say, it was ever delivered. The next day Butt denied that he had expressed a hope of an Irish Parliament. Such observations, he wrote, 'would not have been suited to the occasion'. The reporter seems to have been unfairly done by.

There is a special reason why that meeting should be recorded in the centenary history of the Society. In the following November, William Dillon read the inaugural address for the next session. In its course he declared that he wished:

to assure one of the most gifted orators at the Irish Bar, who, if I remember rightly, in opening his lecture last term, said it was the dearest wish of his heart that, when our University had become the national Irish University, and our Society had increased in numbers and in fame, his name might then be remembered as one of those who aided us in the struggles of our early existence—to assure him, I say, that as well for his kindness in giving us that lecture, as for the promise he has given us to lecture again, and to do everything in his power to promote our success, the members of our Society, as long as it exists, will remember with gratitude the name of Isaac Butt.

It is a rare pleasure to recall that generous pledge.

Fortunately a number of the inaugural addresses of this period have been preserved and provide some sidelights on the Society. Cardinal Cullen, as has been said, spoke at Dawson's inaugural and seized the opportunity to advance the cause of the University and to convey his opinions of the proper behaviour of the Society.

I shall limit myself to very few observations. And, in the first place, while thanking the young gentlemen who invited me to this meeting, I must say that it affords me great pleasure to meet in this hall so many distinguished citizens of Dublin. Their presence, while it shows how anxious they are for the success of the Catholic University, will give great encouragement to the students of that national establishment, and cheer them on in their literary career. The society of which we have heard the inaugural lecture with such pleasure is calculated to produce great advantages. It will give young men pursuing their studies here an opportunity of developing their talents, of applying their knowledge, and of cultivating eloquence. It will oblige them to examine with care, with diligence, and with profound thought, the various subjects proposed for discussion. I would say to the members of this society, that they should always undertake their discussions with diffidence in themselves, always prepared to listen to others, and to be guided by superior authority and wisdom. It is only by the aid of experience that they will learn the difficulties of many of the subjects with which they have to grapple. Another advice I will give young men is to persevere—to work—to be assiduous in study. A great poet gave this advice to others and practised it himself.

*Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit.*

This advice seems to have been taken to heart, if Gossan's remarks in the next session are to be judged on their face value. He commenced by remarking that he had been elected to the auditorship without having held any other office; an unusual achievement. He continued:

I am happy to inform you that the affairs of our society are in a most prosperous condition. Financially, we are not only free from debt, but have a handsome balance to our credit. This is due to the public spirit of our members, to the zeal and ability of our excellent treasurer, whose merits we have recognised by re-electing him to the office; and to the generosity of the University Board. We had a great influx of new members during the past year. Twenty-one meetings were held for debates and the reading of papers. We have a debate and paper by one of our members every alternate week: the reading of the papers is usually followed by discussions, so that we make the practice of public speaking and of English composition go hand in hand.

Consistently with the due observance of order, we allow the widest latitude to the discussion of the various subjects that

come under our notice in the course of our proceedings. Our liberality in this respect won for our society a marked compliment from one of the most distinguished critical reviews in the empire. The authorities of the University, while refraining with admirable delicacy from obtrusive interference, are ever ready with that advice and assistance so much needed, and so much valued by youth. To none do my remarks in this respect apply more forcibly than to our revered president, the Rector. Our meetings are generally presided over by one of our vice-presidents. Those crude opinions and warm expressions to which young speakers are liable to give utterance, are thus corrected and toned down by the judicious summings-up of our respective chairmen.

In the next year again, William Dillon congratulated the Society on the fact that public lectures had not been allowed

to interfere in the smallest degree with the other, and still more important, business of our Society—namely, our debates and papers. With the exception of one or two—owing to unavoidable accidents—we have never allowed a week to pass without either holding a debate, or having a paper read by some member of the Society, that is, a debate one week, and a paper the next, in regular alternation. I am also glad to state that the ratio of the speaking to the silent members has decidedly increased, and I think I may even congratulate the Society on an improvement in the character of the speeches themselves.

These domestic topics were all very well; but any excursion into wider fields was likely to draw fire. Dawson's inaugural, for example, had been on *Toleration*. After the Cardinal's disquisition on the proper conduct of the Society, the discussion had settled down into the well-worn rut of the claim for a Charter. This, it will be remembered, was in 1867, two years before the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. The conjunction of the principle of toleration and the practical point of recognition of the Catholic University stirred the *Dublin Daily Express* into action. Its observations were given added point by the coincidence that the inaugural meetings of the L. & H. and of the College Historical had been held on the same night. In its issue of November 14th, it commented that:

The annual meetings of the College Historical Society are not without a rival. The Catholic University has its own auditor,

its opening display, its prizes, and its distinguished visitors. Liberty is the soul of eloquence, and free discussion is the life of debate; and so we can estimate the prospects of this 'Literary, Historical and Aesthetical Society' when we learn that Cardinal Cullen and Sir John Gray are among its advocates and those who delight to honour it. We have no intention whatever of criticizing the address delivered on Tuesday evening in the Lecture Hall at Stephen's Green. It may have been all that its panegyrists declare, as regards general information, ability and style: and it was, doubtless, the very best thing which that little hot-bed could force into rivalry with the healthy growth of free air and a natural soil. But we find in every line of it proof that it was cramped and distorted by unnatural influences. Whatever the Auditor might have done we can see clearly what a dust of prejudice and misrepresentation was in his eyes, while by the manner in which everything touched was tortured to Ultramontane purposes, we learn in what light Literature, History and Aesthetics are regarded in the institution which is called a Catholic University.

Mr. Charles Dawson, the Auditor, stated that his thesis was Toleration: a subject which few gentlemen of good taste would have descanted upon before a cardinal and a number of Ultramontane prelates, unless their education had been one-sided, and history and its lessons had been ignored. That fact became more evident still when toleration proved to be a misnomer for religious equality, from which it is quite distinct. A sect enjoys toleration when it is not interfered with; it reaches equality when it has every privilege of the most favoured religious body. And as a large number of Dissenting communities are not helped by our Government in any way, Mr. Dawson was badly treated by his Alma Mater when she let him suppose that toleration was withheld because his College had not a Charter. For, of course, that was the grand end of his address. Like everything else which emanates from those enchanted walls, the whole display was pointed at the need of a Charter. Tennyson sings of an echo which, whatever is asked her, answers, 'Death'. We have no doubt of the word which always resounds in those classic (or would-be classic) halls.

The *Express* proceeded to describe the University as 'a political engine' and censured 'the system of morality which allowed Ultramontane politicians to applaud' the Auditor. It ended by remarking that 'the transition from such waste of ingenuity to the proceedings of the real Historical Society is like passing from a crowded room into the fresh air'.

Among the 'Ultramontane politicians' present at Dawson's inaugural was Sir John Gray, then the proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. The *Freeman's* comment on the next day was that:

It would lead us too far from our purpose to dissect the stilted bombast of the *Daily Express* on the comparative merits of the addresses delivered at the opening of the Catholic University and Trinity College Historical Societies. We have no wish to detract from the merits of the latter but we may observe that Mr. Dawson's address will contrast not unfavourably with Mr. Lane's. Both did their best—both acquitted themselves with ability—and both deserve the encouragement of every refined and cultivated mind.

There were further hostilities in 1874 when John Dillon read his inaugural on *The Utility of Debating Clubs and Societies such as the present*. The Auditor dealt with issues that at that time were in controversy among Irish and English Catholics. He declared that:

One of the functions of a true University towards its students is to keep them in communication with the world outside, to bring them into contact with the world but at the same time to surround them with influences powerfully tending to induce them to choose what is good rather than what is bad. Sometimes University authorities, alarmed by the spread of corruption, think that by shutting out evil they can best prepare young men to meet it. They ostracise from their teaching all of literature that seems to have an immoral tendency, all of science and philosophy that seems to run counter to Faith, and make it one of their most earnest cares to protect their students from all contact with or even knowledge of the spirit of the age. In so acting they fail most miserably in one of their most important duties. What can it avail to keep a student in ignorance of such theories as those of Darwin and Huxley and Herbert Spencer when on leaving the University he must find the intellectual atmosphere full of the opinion and writings of these men? Is it not likely that he will look with contempt on the teachers who made it part of their task to keep him in ignorance of much that is true and wonderful while they professed to offer him every kind of knowledge?

And then, quoting directly from the source¹:

For why do we educate, except to prepare for the world? Why do we cultivate the intellect of the many beyond the first elements of knowledge, except for the world? Will it much matter in the world to come whether our bodily health or whether our intellectual strength was more or less, except of course as this world is in all its circumstances a trial for the next? If then a University is a direct preparation for this world, let it be what it professes. It is not a Convent; it is not a Seminary; it is a place to fit men of the world for the world. We cannot possibly keep them from plunging into the world, with all its ways and principles and maxims, when the time comes; but we can prepare them against what is inevitable; and it is not the way to learn to swim in troubled waters, never to have gone into them.

It was perhaps no wonder that the *Express*, forgetful or ignorant of the source of these principles, should have affected to discover in the address a trend of feeling that was antagonistic both to the University and to the Church. Dillon wrote to protest against this interpretation; but the controversy did not die down for some time.

The link with Newman was jealously guarded by that generation in the Society. In those days, inaugural addresses were still printed and published without arousing the wrath which was to break over the head of M. J. Ryan forty years later. In 1870, Fottrell's inaugural bore a dedication:

To

John Henry Newman, D.D.

The first Rector and lasting ornament of the

Catholic University of Ireland.

It was not a time when the opinions of the Society's founder were held in great regard; and even a young man's loyalty may have lightened the gloom. It is pleasant to record that nine years later, 'when the cloud was lifted', Dawson with Fottrell and others whose names appear in the proceedings of the

¹ Newman. *Ninth Discourse on University Education*.

Society, crossed to Birmingham to salute the new Cardinal.¹

There were other links already with what had gone before. The MacDermot was long reported as a faithful attender at inaugurals: he spoke at Gerald Griffin's in 1875. This was a work of supererogation. At that time he had recently been appointed Professor of Law in the University on the unusual understanding that the appointment was 'without salary or obligation of giving lectures'. A more unexpected link, to our mind, was the practice of holding the inaugural meeting in Newman's church. The inaugural of 1871 is thus recorded.

The body and gallery of the Church were filled with the clergy and laity of the city and in the elevated sanctuary which formed the reserved section were several warm friends of the Society. A large number of ladies graced the occasion with their presence. In front of the crimson drapery which screened the altar there was fixed a fine portrait of His Holiness the Pope.

This was in November 1871. Pius IX had been the Prisoner of the Vatican for little over twelve months. At the Society's meetings in those years Major O'Reilly and Major O'Mahony were occasional guests, both of them men who had fought in the last campaigns of the Papal States. This inaugural was delivered by Michael Charles Aughney. In the following March the Society met to deplore his death and to resolve on the erection of the memorial tablet which still stands in the porch of the Church.

The custom of holding inaugurals in University Church

¹ The text of the address will be found in *My Campaign in Ireland*, pp.405-407. It was presented by the C.U.I. Bono club which is described therein as 'formed mainly of ex-students of the Catholic University of Ireland over which you once presided, and it was formed with the object of discussing and taking action upon questions bearing on the welfare of that University'. The address is signed by George Sigerson; Joseph E. Kenny; Gerald Griffin; P. J. O'Connor; Michael Boyd; George Fottrell; Charles Dawson and John Dillon as the committee and by H. G. Gill and William Dillon as secretaries.

There is also extant a circular which is signed on behalf of the Club by Charles Dawson, George Fottrell and William Dillon. It is addressed from 14 Gardiner's Place and dated March 2nd, 1877. It is directed to the Catholic Hierarchy and deals with the University Bill which Butt had introduced during the preceding parliamentary session. The circular states: 'The C.U.I. Bono Club consists mainly of ex-students of the Catholic University, but it also includes amongst its members a number of Catholic gentlemen who have not passed through the University, but who are, nevertheless, believers in the principles which that institution represents. We meet at stated intervals and discuss various matters connected with the University Question in Ireland.'

I am indebted to Dr. F. S. Bourke for drawing attention to this circular, a copy of which is in his possession.—*Ed.*

did not last much longer. An appeal for funds to build the present *Aula Maxima* was launched in 1876, its opening sentence being: 'The want of a large Hall for Academic Commencements, Public Lectures, meetings of the Historical Society and for other literary and scientific purposes in connection with the University has long been felt'. But the new Hall was barely built before there was a change in academic organisation. Throughout the early and middle seventies the Society had prospered. Its membership included, besides those already mentioned, the names of men such as Patrick O'Donnell, later Cardinal and Archbishop of Armagh, and Ignatius O'Brien, later to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who was Auditor in 1878-79. But, apart from the Medical School, the number of students steadily dwindled in face of the continued denial of a Charter. Gladstone's University Bill had been narrowly defeated in 1873: the Conservative government which took office the next year had given a succession of half-promises of legislation but a series of privately-sponsored bills perished in the Commons. The urgent necessities of the present and the uncertainties of the future combined to produce a feeling of apathy.

The building of the *Aula Maxima* was the last notable event in the rectorship of Dr. Woodlock. In 1879 he left 86 for the bishopric of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. His successor, Dean Neville, presided over the last years of the Catholic University in 86. The last Auditor before the change was J. D. McFeeley, one of the comparatively rare (until lately at least) medical Auditors. He had a stormy year; though the sequence of events is difficult to reconstruct. It opened with the consideration of a motion by John Hayden (apparently coming to bury what his father had helped to deliver): *It being found impracticable to obtain the use of the 'Aula Max' from the University for the annual inaugural address, that this Society be formally dissolved.* This resolution was to be considered on October 29th, 1880. Whatever may have happened, the inaugural was in fact read on December 10th, though the chair was taken, not by the Rector, but by Dr. Lyons, M.P. We have also McFeeley's recollections of his year which were contributed to *A Page of Irish History*—fifty years later.

During the early days of the Parnell Movement, some half dozen Irish members were expelled from the British Parliament for 'obstruction'. Some short time after this, in arranging the programme for debates, we chose as one of the subjects, 'That the expulsion of the Irish members from the House of Commons was illegal and unconstitutional.' The notice was put up, in the usual way, in the glass case in the hall. Someone drew the Rector, Dean Neville's attention to it: I was sent for and told that this subject would not be allowed for debate, 'as things were in a transitional stage, and any show of political bias might be prejudicial to any Act they were likely to get'. On the evening that the debate was to take place, the members of the Society were refused the use of the *Aula Maxima* or any other room in the College; and the main entrance was closed and bolted. For over half-an-hour before the time notified for the debate, such crowds continued to come that the pathway from the Harcourt Street corner of the Green was packed. Many of the old members, including the ex-Auditors of the Society, demanded admission, or at least a room to hold an ordinary business meeting.

This is the first collective appearance recorded of that critical and mutually self-sufficient group, the ex-Auditors. There is some irony in the fact that they first appear on the pavement, locked out from delivering their opinions to the Society. It is easy, however, to see why they should have attended. The chairmen for meetings in the later 1870's were very largely recruited from their ranks; the names of Dawson, Fottrell, Dillon, O'Meara and Griffin appear repeatedly.

It is possible to supplement this account from the files of the *Freeman's Journal*. On February 3rd, 1881, thirty-six Irish Members of Parliament (including Charles Dawson and John Dillon) were suspended during the debates on the Coercion Bill of that year. A notice in the *Freeman* on February 25th gave notice of a general meeting that evening when Mr. T. J. Byrne would propose: *That the action of the House of Commons in suspending thirty-five of the Irish Members of Parliament was an arbitrary infringement on the freedom of debate.* An amendment was to be proposed by Gerald Griffin to add the words: *and an attack on the liberties of all Irishmen.* The chair was to be taken by John Dillon. On the next day, Saturday, February 26th, the *Freeman* stated that:

THE OLD SOCIETY

The meeting however was prohibited, and in consequence the extraordinary business meeting was held, at which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

That in view of the fact that the Rector of the Catholic University has prohibited the holding of the debate advertised for this evening, on the ground that it dealt with a current political question, this meeting desires to record—1st, that there is nothing in the constitution of the society which forbids the discussion of such subjects; 2nd, that such subjects have been frequently discussed at public meetings of the society.

That the society desires further to record that in their (sic) appeal to the public for funds for the construction of the aula maxima for the Catholic University, this society's need of a public meeting hall was specially put forward as a ground for that appeal, and that while for some time past the use of the aula maxima has been denied to the society, it has been freely granted to extern societies and to a Government Board.

That the society wishes it to be known that public notice of the meeting for this evening had been given for fourteen days on the society's notice case, and that the meeting was suppressed only on the afternoon of the day for which it was advertised.

That these resolutions be sent to the Dublin newspapers for publication.

This row also blew over; McFeeley recalls a lecture later in the session to demonstrate the use of electricity as a means of public lighting: 'Mr. George Fottrell, Chairman of the Dublin Gas Company, was asked to preside'. This lecture, McFeeley says, was 'meant to help in the restoration of the temporarily defunct Literary and Historical Society'. It is interesting to note his statement that 'the more advanced spirits of the Society refused to take the snub lying down . . . and a "Young Ireland Society", not quite on the same lines as ours, was started'. This society met in 47 York Street. It held its opening meeting on March 25th, 1881, with John Dillon as President. Among those present was Gerald Griffin who had succeeded Dillon as Auditor in 1875 and was later to become a Resident Magistrate. From the first, the society was under police supervision; and it protested that: 'We are simply a debating society of the same kind as the debating societies of Trinity College and similar institutions which are never honoured by the attentions of the servants of the Government'. That did not save it from eventual

suppression. But its foundation illustrated the important point that if there was no debating society in the College, the students might well go further and, from some points of view, fare worse.

Meanwhile in 86 the situation had been changed by the passage of the University Education (Ireland) Act in the summer of 1879. Under this Act the Royal University was set up, as an examining body. It had no lecturing staff. It represented an advance, in so far as Catholics could now proceed to a university degree without hurt to their convictions; on the other hand the fact that it lacked all of what is thought to be a university atmosphere meant that it was regarded only as a make-shift. The preparation of Catholic students for the degrees of the Royal was concentrated in 86, the St. Patrick's House of the Catholic University, which was entrusted to the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus in 1883 and was now given the name of University College, Dublin. Thereafter the physical existence of the Catholic University was represented in 86 by its Rector, Monsignor Molloy who succeeded Dean Neville in the same year. The University, however, survived in its Medical School in Cecilia Street. These nice points of jurisdiction were to have some importance much later, in the rows of 1907, just before they in their turn were swept away by the Act of 1908 which replaced the Royal University by the National.

At this point, not unnaturally, there is a clear break in the activities of the Society. McFeeley's inaugural in December 1880 was the last official meeting for over a year. The next meeting of a debating society was recorded in a minute book which is stamped on the cover with the name of The Union Society. The entry begins 'The second meeting of the Society was held at University College on Thursday evening, 23rd November, 1882'. The new society did not appear to be more able or willing to discuss contemporary affairs than its predecessor, if we are to judge by the motion for debate: *That the acquittal of Warren Hastings was justified*. The winter was spent in drawing up rules which provided for a committee of nine members and an Auditor, for a subscription of five shillings and for fortnightly meetings to be held on Wednesdays. This constitution-mongering does not appear to have been finished

in February 1883 when Joseph McGrath was elected Auditor. The Society fell at once to discussing strictly contemporaneous topics such as: *That parliamentary oaths should be maintained*, a subject for which the contemporary contest between the Commons and Bradlaugh afforded plenty of material. A month later the Society was not so fortunate. 'Fifteen members were present but almost all those who had promised to speak on the subject fixed for Debate were absent.' But at least it kept going and later still debated the motion: *That Mr. Pitt's Irish policy does not deserve approval*; a subject for which there should have been no lack of speakers.

By the next session, 1883-84, the Jesuit régime had begun. Father Tom Finlay was elected Auditor, not without an expression of hope that the post would be filled by a student in future. Father Finlay however, saw to it, characteristically, that rules were adopted and later read an inaugural on *The relations of the proposed work of the Society to the University*. Having completed the re-organisation begun in the previous year and ended his term of office, he stepped down. There were no more Jesuit Auditors, though members of the community were to hold office on the committee for the twenty-five years of the Jesuit University College. For fifty years Father Finlay maintained his interest in the Society; we will find him suggesting a motion for the Inter-University debate in 1929. Between the early eighties and the late twenties lay a busy life of public work. He was one of the formative influences on generations in the Society.

The Society now about to enjoy some years of crowded activity seems familiar indeed. The names are evocative. Already McGrath and Finlay have appeared; the Auditors of the coming years will include Donovan, Magennis and Howley. Father Delany and Father Darlington will soon appear. The stage is set for the generation of Kettle and Joyce. Relations between the Jesuit College and the Society were subject to squalls; but the association was generous and fruitful and much of the tradition of the Society, to many the best part of that tradition, dates from these twenty-five years.

All this, it might be said, belongs to the Union Society and is

irrelevant to the L. & H. It would be irrelevant were it not for what happens next. To Father Finlay succeeded Robert Donovan 'found to be elected by a majority'—the first instance we know of a contested election. The notices of meetings return at once to the old style, the 'Literary and Historical Society', now of University College, Dublin. And at Donovan's inaugural appear the familiar names, George Fottrell ex-Auditor, Charles Dawson ex-Auditor. The continuity was re-established, if indeed it had ever been broken: the chairman at the Union Society's first debate on Warren Hastings was the Roche who had been Philip Farrelly's secretary over twenty years before. Tradition was too strong. There was a new University with a new College, under new management, but the stubborn conservatism of undergraduates ignored such changes.

This period of growth began with a remarkable inaugural by Robert Donovan on *Irish Genius in Literature*. He was already a writer of graceful English, perfecting the style which was to give a special distinction to the leaders of the *Freeman's Journal* for decades to come. The subject might well be guessed by any of the students who, fifty years later, listened in the New Physics Theatre to the Professor of English Literature quoting from Matthew Arnold's essay *On the Study of Celtic Literature*. At this time Arnold's brother occupied that Chair in University College; Father Aubrey Gwynn recalls a memory of a former student of 'a forlorn old man, sitting in an uncomfortable class-room, and lamenting that this should have been the fate of Matthew Arnold's brother'. Such a subject not only reflected Donovan's taste: it was typical of a new interest in Irish affairs that extended beyond the perennial University question and was to be strengthened as the decade went on. In April 1885, Donovan, McWeeney and Denis Coffey are found on a committee organising a protest against the conferring of a Doctorate, quite inappropriately in Music, on the future Queen Alexandra. A little later the Society debated: *That the policy of Young Ireland is preferable to that of O'Connell*. Assuredly the motion would not have been discussed in the Catholic University as long as Cardinal Cullen was Chancellor. As it happened, the motion was negatived by a majority of one. Later

again the Society proposed to debate: *That British action towards India deserves condemnation.* The last word was changed to *approval* before the meeting, and in this form the proposition was rejected. The year ended in a blaze of glory, no fewer than six candidates contesting the auditorship. Off-hand, it seems that this must still constitute a record. If any further proof is needed that we have now come to modern times, it is provided by the fact that the election of Edmund Young was petitioned, unsuccessfully.

Young's term of office, 1885-86, was deeply affected by politics. He began with an inaugural on a subject which might not have occurred to many of his predecessors, *The Labour Question*. He presided over an exceptionally able committee which included such men as William Magennis, John Bacon and W. P. Coyne. Another, unexpected, member was P. S. Dinneen then a member of the Society of Jesus. On November 20th, 1885, the committee met to discuss suggestions for debate motions. The wording of a couple of them was as important as the subject; it was still necessary to stand things on their head. By Mr. Magennis: *That the connection which has existed between England and Ireland has been beneficial to Mankind.* By Mr. Young: *That the annexation of Burmah deserves the approval of English subjects.* Neither of these was taken at the time. On December 4th, Mr. Downing proposed, for debate on the 18th: *That separation from England would be more advantageous to Ireland than simple Repeal of the Union.*

Here it will be useful to recall the events of 1885. In June, Parnell had put the Liberals out of office: the summer was filled with inconclusive discussions with representatives of the new Conservative government. A measure of Home Rule was in the air; the question was which British party could be induced to sponsor it. The General Election of 1885 began on November 23rd; when it was completed on December 20th, Parnell had swept all the Irish seats outside the north-east and held the balance of power at Westminster. The Christmas season witnessed the gradual approach of Gladstone to Home Rule and the flying of the 'Hawarden kite'. At the end of January 1886 the Tories were defeated by the Irish vote

and Gladstone formed the administration which introduced the first Home Rule Bill.

It was against this background that the motions for debate were considered. It was later decided to postpone Downing's motion until the first meeting of the new term. The minutes of the committee meeting of January 15th, 1886, record:

Afterwards on an intimation from the Very Rev. Rector of University College, the meeting was continued . . . It was resolved to postpone the discussion of the question: *That separation from England would be more advantageous to Ireland than simple Repeal of the Union*. In its stead the motion: *That Federalisation of the Colonies would tend to strengthen the British Empire* was adopted.

At its next meeting the committee adopted the resolution: *That subjects appointed for debate be submitted for the approval or disapproval of the President of the Society before a date be fixed for their discussion*. It was not quite the end. On March 5th, Donovan suggested for debate the proposition: *That Members of Parliament ought to be paid by the State*. Game to the last, Mr. Downing moved unsuccessfully to amend the motion by inserting *an Irish* as its fourth and fifth words.

Thus the pattern was repeated, not for the last time. The differences between the Society and the College were especially clearly marked in 1886. It was only to be expected that Irish students should wish to discuss the questions which governed the future of their country, and that they should ignore any invitation to discuss these questions in another idiom. On the other hand, it was the primary aim of the College to avoid offence to either British party. Fr. Delany had not been appointed President to promote the cause of Home Rule, still less of separation. His task was to do his part in the long struggle to achieve a just University settlement. From that point of view it was immaterial whether Home Rule was obtained or withheld. The proposed Parliament in Dublin would have no powers in that direction, so limited was the scope of Repeal. It was equally immaterial which British party was in power; if anything, there might be a better chance of getting a settlement from the Tories than from the Liberals. In the meantime it was, or it seemed, essential

that the existing College should not be prejudiced by any activity of its students.

These calculations may or may not have been well founded; they were certainly sincerely held. They were not so far-fetched as may now appear: we tend to forget the inveterate hostility of powerful influences to any concession to Irish Catholics in search of a University. These influences, then as later, would seize on any event in University College that might be used to delay a university settlement. To be sure, the remote debates of an under-graduate society would not deter any administration from introducing a Bill, if it had once determined to do so. The point was that neither British party was anxious to do so; even the weakest excuse might be used to justify further delay.

These calculations could not be explained to everybody. They might have appeared exaggerated if they had been. The price that had to be paid was a weakening of the normally good relations between the College and the Society.

However these issues may have been regarded at the time, the Society almost ostentatiously returned to trite subjects; though there was a greater significance than anyone could have guessed in 1886 in the proposition: *That the pen is mightier than the sword*, which was debated shortly afterwards and heavily defeated. The year ended quietly. It is recorded that Messrs. T. F. Molony, D. J. Coffey and H. C. McWeeney were re-admitted to membership; the Society thus enriching itself by a future Lord Chief Justice and Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University, a future Vice-Chancellor of the National University and a future Vice-President of University College, Dublin. Later still, in June, Mr. M. Wall was also re-admitted, which raised some question whether 'gentlemen joining the Society at that time of year should have votes'. The matter has come up again on several occasions.

In Farrell's year, 1886-87, the Society continued to grow. It was resolved that meetings should be held in the *Aula Maxima* and that students should attend in cap and gown. The next Auditor, P. J. Lennox, used the Jubilee year as a subject for his inaugural on *The Victorian Era in Ireland*, a theme less glowingly

treated than might have been the case twenty years before. Two other points in the minutes of this year are of interest. There are references to meetings of the Academy of St. Thomas which reflect the interest that was taken in philosophy by students of this period, such as Coyne, Magennis and Howley. Lastly, in this year the Society noted the departure from the College of two who had done much for it and were to do more, Father Darlington and Father Delany. The story goes that Father Delany's energy in developing the College, which then as now implied the incurring of debt, alarmed his colleagues. He was succeeded as President of the College by Father Carbery who presumably did not excite the same fears.

The next two years, 1888-90, are shared by William Magennis and J. F. Howley. The paper of Magennis on *Irish Democracy* must stand high in the list of events of the kind. The brilliance of the paper might almost be taken for granted; Magennis had even then attained to that influence over his contemporaries which he was to retain for some decades, beyond the period of flowering at the end of the century. The platform and the audience matched the address. Father Finlay in the chair; the speakers, John Pentland Mahaffy, John Dillon, Charles Dawson and Charles Oldham; in the audience, John Redmond and Father Gerard Manley Hopkins.

Playing away from home, as it were, Dr. Mahaffy was in good form. He said that:

The very kind reception which he had met there to-night allayed even the slightest fears he might have had in coming forward on that platform, standing as he did before a large audience with most of whom he differed on many important points (*applause*). He spoke out this difficulty honestly beforehand to the officers of this society, and they assured him that they desired at this public meeting not to have all the speakers of one colour or complexion, and that they would be even glad to welcome a downright Unionist (*applause*), in order to illustrate the good principle that the future hopes of this country depended upon the amicable and friendly discussion of moot points by people of opposite opinions (*applause*). . . .

. . . . But in ancient times the only democracies that were successful were aristocracies. In Greece they had thirty thousand voters,

who ruled as slaves a population of nearly a million in Athens and a large population of enslaved states. They were aristocrats at home and tyrants abroad. There never was a democratic government, as they called themselves, so opposed to Home Rule (*laughter*). The subject states were all clamouring for Home Rule, and most justly (*applause and laughter*), for the behaviour of the Athenians was tyrannical, and the Athenians were exceedingly unwilling to allow even a moderate scheme of Home Rule, for they knew that if a moderate scheme was granted the people would advance to larger measures and would soon become independent (*laughter*).

The impetus given by this successful year survived into the next, and was sustained by Howley. Ever with its ear to the ground the Society debated: *That the resignation of Bismarck is beneficial to the interests of Europe*. The main interests of the year were literary; many papers were read, and the Society adjourned on the death of Browning.

For the session 1890-91, Luke Nolan was elected unopposed. There is no record of an inaugural address or of any meeting in the first term. The first meeting noted is on February 13th, 1891. A fortnight later it is recorded that the attendance was 'pleasingly good for there were not less than 25 present'. There is another entry for March 6th and the rest is silence. There is a long break in the proceedings of the Society from the early spring of 1891 to the late autumn of 1897. The minutes contain nothing to suggest a reason for this sudden ending. It has been suggested that Father Carbery disapproved of such activities as debating. That may be so; indeed the suggestion is tacitly accepted in *A Page of Irish History*. On the other hand, the session of 1890-91 was the third since the new President had taken office; and there is nothing in the minutes of the time to suggest that he had attempted to limit the activities of the Society. But it may well be that if the President did not kill, neither did he strive officiously to keep the Society alive. The spring of 1891 saw the development of the Parnell split; it may have been thought that a student society could not operate with advantage to the College or to its members in an atmosphere that was steadily filled with hate.

Chapter II.

THE SOCIETY RESTORED (1897-1908)

IN 1897 FATHER DELANY returned to University College as its President. Within a short time, the Society was revived. In the extract from an article by the late William Dawson which follows, it is stated that the revival was due to the President's sympathy with the proposals of Arthur Clery and Francis Skeffington. In his *Dublin Essays*, Arthur Clery writes that the Society 'was now revived largely through the efforts of the late Dr. (W. P.) Coyne and of Mr. Walter Callan'. The remarks of Professor Hackett later in the present chapter will also be noted.

The visible sign of the revival is provided by the minutes of a meeting held early in the session 1897-98. The entry runs as follows:

SESSION 1897-98

A general meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday, November 2nd, the President, the Very Rev. William Delany, S.J., being in the chair. Amongst those present were Rev. J. Darlington, S.J., Professors H. C. McWeeney, H. McNeill, W. P. Coyne, Messrs. E. R. Kavanagh, Fitzgerald-Kenney, Skeffington, C. J. Joyce, P. Byrne, A. E. Clery, J. F. Byrne, T. Donohue, J. Conroy, V. Rice, E. O'Toole, senr., C. J. McGarry, D. J. McGrath, H. B. Kennedy, J. O'Toole. The Very Rev. Chairman delivered a short address on the function and value of societies such as the Literary and Historical Society in the work of University life.

The meeting proceeded to take a ballot for the position of Auditor of the Society for the current year, 1897-98, it being understood that the gentleman elected would be eligible for re-election next session in view of the fact that no inaugural address would be delivered this year. Mr. C. Griffin, B.A., was ultimately elected Auditor. Mr. H. McNeill proposed and Mr.

Coyne seconded the following resolution: That only four members of committee be now elected by this meeting and that these members have power to co-opt the other three members. As the result of a division this resolution was carried by 9 votes to 6 (two members not voting). A committee of four was forthwith elected, the ballot ultimately resulting in the choice of Messrs. Coyne, Skeffington, McNeill and Kavanagh (in the order of priority). It was proposed that the committee should at the next meeting of the Society furnish a report on the rules for adoption by the members of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned to Saturday, the 18th November.

Neither then nor later, do the minutes make any reference to the gap of over six years. The Society seems to have taken up its activities again where it had left off in 1891. At this meeting, there were several present who had held office during the 1880's, McWeeney, McNeill and Coyne, not to mention Fathers Delany and Darlington.

The Auditor elected at this meeting was unable to accept the office. In a letter dealing with these matters, Sir Charles Griffin, Q.C., gives an interesting description of the life of the College at this time, which shows clearly the value of a Society such as the L. & H. He writes:

When in November, 1897, I got a letter informing me that I had been elected Auditor of the Society, I was greatly surprised as I had no idea that the Society was being revived. In fact I may go further and say that I doubt if I had ever heard of its existence.

I spent four years at University College and, as things were then there, I looked upon it merely as a place where one attended classes. The classes were small and one practically saw nothing of students in other classes. There was no sense of a community about it and there was little of what one associates in one's mind with University life to be found there. Why this should have been I do not know—there were probably all sorts of difficulties which we youngsters did not appreciate.

I imagine now that the revival of the Society by Father Delany was intended to bring about some sort of cohesion and community feeling among the students. It was very necessary as I have already pointed out.

I have no doubt that conditions are very different now and that present-day students are finding themselves in a 'university'

atmosphere—not present in my day—to my great regret. . . . Do not imagine that I am blaming anybody for what I conceived to be the shortcomings of the College in my day. There must have been all sorts of difficulties which in those days I could not appreciate and which I sincerely hope have long since been overcome.

A general picture of the revived Society is given in an article which was written for the *National Student* by William Dawson, twenty-five years ago. The years immediately succeeding 1897 are then described by Professor Felix Hackett; and the later development is dealt with by succeeding contributors.

I.—THE LATE WILLIAM DAWSON

I HAVE BEEN ASKED¹ to write my recollections of the Literary and Historical Society of University College, Dublin, in the days when I was connected with it. An easy task, indeed, and a pleasant one, for was not that, as all the world knows, the Golden Epoch in the life of the Society? At which the reader demurs, and says 'No, No; that was during the time when I belonged to it'. Of course, he is right. One's own day was the day—no matter when.

To the epoch of which I am about to write belongs, however, the distinction that it marked the re-emergence of the Society from a long period in Limbo. Sometime about the year 1897, Arthur Clery and Frank Skeffington, who had not yet added Sheehy to his name, being still single, urged on the one hand by the desire to hear themselves talk, and by a very genuine ambition to do something to impart a College atmosphere to what was then little better than a grinding academy, gathered one or two students together, and requested the President to give them permission and assistance to restart the Debating Society. They were fortunate in the circumstance that Father William Delany had been appointed President of University College that year. A man of exceptional ability, energy and broad views, he fell in with the project and the Society got

¹ Abridged from the original article by Mr. Dawson in the *National Student*, March, 1930. Contemporary references have been left unaltered.

under way. The start was, however, hard work. Save for the two enthusiasts mentioned, Hugh Kennedy (now Chief Justice) and a few others, no one took much interest in the scheme, and the weekly meetings in the Physics Theatre were poorly attended. Indeed, the paucity of speakers was such that on one occasion the Standing Orders had to be suspended so as to allow the one or two orators present to speak time and again. Clery and Skeffington had the night to themselves.

The first Auditor of the Society, in its revived form, was Frank Skeffington. He was succeeded in 1898 by Tom Kettle, who had just come up from Clongowes. Already Kettle was giving proof of that strange magnetism by which he attracted people to him, and the audiences at the weekly debates steadily increased. My recollection of Kettle at this time is that he was by no means an easy or pleasant speaker. The curious intonation with which the public were later to become familiar, sounded affected in a boy of eighteen, while the sarcasm and irony which were to delight and hurt legislative assemblies and listening multitudes in days to come, grated rather in those early days. Kettle was followed in the auditorial chair by Arthur Clery, to whom belongs the credit of carrying to success our first public inaugural meeting.

All other debating societies in the city, such as the Historical and the 'Phil' of T.C.D., the King's Inns and the Solicitors' Apprentices opened their year—then as now—with a grand flourish of trumpets. Public men of note were asked to speak on questions of the hour; newspaper accounts were published, giving detailed reports of the proceedings; medals were awarded for oratory, and large audiences assembled to hearken and applaud. All these Clery desired very rightly for our Society, and all of them after much patient effort he succeeded in securing. I remember him saying to me that all would be well, provided the news of the relief of Ladysmith was not in the next day's papers. He was in luck.

From that on, the Society flourished. Hugh Kennedy was our next Auditor and read his inaugural address on the everlasting university question. The chief speakers on this occasion were Dr. Starkie and Mr. Tim Healy. When the meeting started

it was noticed that Mr. Healy's seat was vacant, and grave misgiving that he might fail to arrive filled every breast. He was the great 'draw'. Literally, a vast number had been turned away, and the Hall and platform were packed. In despair I, in my capacity as a steward, wandered to the entrance and found Matt, our ancient janitor, refusing admission to a middle-aged gentleman, who had forgotten his platform ticket. Recognising the 'man in the gap', I sprang forward, and almost pulled him over the threshold. A few moments later and the Hall was ringing with cheers as he entered. He made one of his finest speeches that night.

I have strayed beyond my own period, perhaps, in dealing with this episode; but it was a peculiarity of the Literary and Historical Society of those days that the veterans tended to 'lag superfluous' on the scene. The College was a spacious Clubhouse for us, and the Debating Society was (metaphorically speaking) the bar. My 'instructions' are to write of the Literary and Historical Society, but in doing so, it is permissible to allude to *St. Stephen's*, the College magazine, which flourished at this time, for *St. Stephen's* was our *Hansard*, in so far as we had one. Father Henry Browne (the eminent Greek scholar) acted as a species of Director. Hugh Kennedy was its first editor, Felix Hackett then, and afterwards Kettle, succeeded later by Con Curran. Kennedy's sister, later on the staff of *The Times*, contributed much of the Ladies' Column (occasionally written by men in times of stress). There was something West-British about the title of this paper, but for all that we were intensely alive to the Gaelic movement, then thrilling the youth of the country. Notwithstanding that the *Leader*, then in its pristine splendour, was our Gospel, there was, it must be admitted, a British House of Commons flavour about the procedure of our Debating Society. After all, save the Dublin Corporation, it was the only model that we had. There was no Dáil in those days. We liked 'scenes'. We suspended the sitting on one occasion in order to eject refractory members. There was even a 'Gunpowder Plot'—an attempt to remove the Auditor from the chair by the letting-off of squibs. All the same, we were intensely nationalist in our outlook. 'Here',

said Kettle, 'I have a home for my disaffection'—Kinahan and Fitzgerald-Kenney (now Minister for Justice), being the only Unionists in our ranks. The influences strongest upon us in those young days were Father Delany, Father Tom Finlay and Professor Magennis. And the greatest of those was Finlay. We strove to talk like him; perhaps, even, to think like him. As speakers we were not, I fear, really good; but we made conscientious efforts. Clery and Skeffington were the best, as my memory goes. Kennedy was solemn and didactic, and took everything—committees and so forth—very seriously. Of Kettle I have already spoken. Murnaghan and Hackett (Dean of the College of Science in these days) had that curious Northern hesitancy of speech, while John O'Sullivan was jerky, scrappy and Socratic.

There were numerous amusing episodes. Once, greatly daring, I read a paper on *Imperialism*, pointing out that the only feasible resolution of the Irish question was our cheerful acceptance of a self-governing status under the Empire. How I was denounced! The chair was occupied by Monsignor Molloy, Rector of the Catholic University, and commonly regarded as a 'Cawstle Cawtholic'. Within the security of the College, the Monsignor thought himself safe, and made a vigorous speech lauding the Manchester Martyrs, the Clerkenwell Explosion, the Land League, and so on, in terms of high praise. In Monday's paper, however, an accurate précis of his remarks, furnished by James Murnaghan, then Honorary Secretary of the Society and a skilled shorthand writer, duly appeared. On another occasion a prominent Dublin citizen was invited to preside at one of our meetings. It was to be held on a Saturday in January, at the beginning of term. On the night in question, singularly bleak and unpleasant, the worthy gentleman arrived to find only a handful of students present, and after half-an-hour's wait, it was decided to abandon the meeting. The prominent gentleman, now highly irate, expressed himself in very forcible terms indeed to the unhappy few who had proved faithful, while to John M. O'Sullivan, the Honorary Secretary, he delivered something in the nature of a reprimand which the Minister for Education remembers to this day.

In the following Monday's *Freeman's Journal* there was an account, over half a column, describing the overflow meeting at University College on the previous Saturday. The prominent citizen was reported as having urged on the College authorities the importance of providing larger premises for these interesting and popular meetings. The College authorities, to whom news of the fiasco had been brought, felt assured that from now on the prominent citizen would be their mortal foe, and Father Darlington rushed to his office to placate him. He found the great man, however, wreathed in smiles. The paragraph in the paper had turned his wrath into mirth, for he had, fortunately for himself, a sense of humour.

Then there was the affair of the old man. One Saturday night the Auditor espied an elderly gentleman seated in their midst, apparently following the debate with much interest. He asked the chairman to invite him to speak, and the elderly gentleman did so with great alacrity and volubility. Next Saturday he appeared again, and spoke again. We learned that he was a retired Civil Servant. Saturday after Saturday he appeared and spoke. He expressed a desire to become a member. Then he wished to read a paper. He became, in short, an intolerable nuisance, and the process of freezing him out was long and painful.

Next year R. J. Kinahan, later an eminent K.C., popularly known all through his too short life as 'Bob', was Auditor, and concerning his election to that exalted post there is an amusing tale. Bob had so far taken very little interest in the Debating Society. He seldom attended its meetings, his formula being: 'I read my course and I play my games'. Friends, however, induced him to go forward; his opponent being myself. Now, I was strongly identified with the Society, was one of its secretaries and so forth, and in committee circles Bob was not supposed to have 'a dog's chance'. So much so that some of my own supporters actually voted for him in order that he might not be let down too badly. He won by a good majority! Kinahan's address was on certain aspects of Socialism, and the night was chiefly remarkable for a very brilliant speech by J. F. Taylor, long since dead. It was the



DOCTOR NEWMAN

(From a photograph of the early 1850's)

only inaugural meeting during his term as President at which Father Delany did not take the chair. In his absence he asked the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Tim Harrington, M.P.), to preside; which he kindly did. 'Tim' understood better the mentality of aldermen and councillors than that of undergraduates, and his too rigid insistence on order nearly led to riot.

In the following year, I held forth on *Problems of Progress*, and was succeeded in 1903 by J. P. Doyle who, if I mistake not, bent his brilliant brain to a further consideration of the university question. Of his inaugural my memory is faint; but I recall that the growing turbulence of the *plebs* was becoming more and more a hard factor to handle. Doyle is now a Judge in India, with power of life and death. I am sure he wished he had it then. A mysterious organisation existed in Dublin about this time, known as the 'Dungannon Club', and disturbers from its ranks used to heckle and interrupt our speakers. These unruly spirits gathered at the back of the Hall, and they gave poor Doyle rather a thin time.

Another direction in which we developed was that of 'inter-debates'. Our opponents were on all occasions the Solicitors' Apprentices. Sometimes we went forth to meet them; sometimes they came to us. Our first tourney was in the Antient Concert Rooms. The College team comprised Hugh Kennedy, Tom Kettle, Arthur Clery and myself; and ranged against us were Harry Drennan, John Horgan and alas! the other names have slipped my memory. (I fear, as W. B. Yeats would say, some stupidity in my middle years). We debated some aspect of the Feminist question, the College championing the ladies' cause. A later debate on the merits of the Intermediate Education system, held at the College, brought into prominence the high debating qualities of Louis J. Walsh, now a District Justice, but known in College circles as 'the boy orator'. And there was one wonderful night when 'Æ' presided over a debate on *Mysticism* and Yeats made a marvellous speech, prophesying that 'the battle would be fought around Synge' and so it was—two years later.

They were good old days those. Shall I ever forget the hour I spent with George Moore in Ely Place, endeavouring to

persuade him to preside at one of our meetings, when James Joyce was to read a paper? All my entreaties were in vain; but little did the famous novelist then realise that the future author of *Ulysses* was the unknown undergraduate. He told me he was too shy and dreaded making speeches. I assured him we would let him off lightly, but it was no use. Then he put his hand on my shoulder, and besought me to write for him a play to be acted on the little lawn in front of his house. A beguiling talker—George Moore.

It is our boast that out of the revived Literary and Historical Society developed all that bright intellectual life which was to be found in University College, under Jesuit control, in the first decade of the century. It would be highly ungrateful not to record the help and guidance that we got—and much needed criticism too—from the College authorities and staff. Father Delany, Father Tom Finlay, Father Darlington, Father George O'Neill and Father Browne; W. Magennis, W. P. Coyne, Hugh McNeill, James Macken and P. J. Dowling—all took a kindly interest in this attempt to create an 'atmosphere' and who, looking before and after, shall say we did not succeed?

II.—FELIX E. HACKETT

EARLY IN 1900 came the end of the 'Split' in the Irish Parliamentary Party, thus closing a tragic period which has had an important influence on the political education of the Irish people. The discussions of the day did not always figure in the debates of the L. & H. but they were part of the life of the students, then engaged in carving a university education out of austere conditions. Callan, Kettle, the Dawsons, the Sheehys, belonged to families which had been in the midst of the struggles of the Parnell period and after. The bitter quarrel over Parnell in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* will convey the violent emotions of the time.

The boundaries of the City of Dublin were then the Royal and Grand Canals. The vast majority of students lived inside these boundaries, within easy walking distance of the College.

Only two tram-lines were electrified. The motoring age had not arrived. The streets sank to silence much earlier than today. Talk, merging into discussions of the problems of the day or of the theatre or of the more abstract topics of the lecture-room, went on easily, walking across St. Stephen's Green or homeward from the L. & H. debates or from the closing of the National Library.

Dublin at that time could well have been described as a city of peripatetic discourse. The university atmosphere around 86 St. Stephen's Green was indeed peripatetic also in the philosophic sense, as is evident from the description given by Joyce in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The aesthetic discussion with Father Darlington may be an idealised or a synthetic version of many such talks but it conveys the essence of the spirit of reference to Aristotle, which was the salient characteristic of Father Darlington's interventions in the discussions of the L. & H. and other societies such as the Library Conference and the Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas.

His peripateticism was applied even with some daring to the scientific speculations of the time about the luminiferous ether, then in the news through the triumphs of Marconi. To the distraction of theoretical physicists like Arthur Conway, he frequently drew its analogy with Aristotle's *materia prima*. The material characteristics of the ether have now vanished from physical speculation. The concept of structure alone remains which, as Father Darlington would triumphantly have claimed, corresponds to Aristotle's *forma*. *Pulchra sunt quae visa placent* might easily have been quoted by him in his English lectures. The Aquinas dictum on which Joyce discourses in the *Portrait*: *ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur, integritas, consonantia, claritas*—is the dictum used by Maritain in his *Scholasticism and Art* and more recently in his *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry* when discussing the philosophical concept of beauty. Father Darlington, it is not too much to say, tempered the mind of that generation of students by the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas.

Contemporaries differ in assigning the initiative in the revival of the L. & H. Elsewhere in this book, the evidence

of William Dawson and Arthur Clery is quoted. James Fitzgerald-Kenney, who was present at the revival meeting on November 2nd, 1897, expressed the view that the initiative came from W. P. Coyne, who also attended and was appointed a member of the committee. As Coyne was one of the active members of the Society before 1891, and acted as secretary from 1897 to 1900, we may reasonably infer that he was the mainspring of the revival, supporting the efforts of the student members. His continuing interest in the discussion of fundamental ideas was shown, as *A Page of Irish History* records¹, by his encouragement of the formation of a small library of books of significance in Catholic thought. He initiated the series of Library Conferences in 1901 by an address on Mallock, and presided over many subsequent meetings. As Kettle wrote of him in *St. Stephen's* on his death in 1904, 'he was a man of deep and vital culture'.

At the revival meeting Charles Griffin was elected Auditor but he resigned immediately afterwards. The minutes of November 20th mention Skeffington as Auditor; but no account is given of his election. This has also been supplied by Fitzgerald-Kenney. Owing to his strong and individualistic views on many subjects, the nomination of Frank Skeffington was not acceptable to a large number. They put forward Fitzgerald-Kenney, much against his inclination, who resolved the situation by voting for his rival. This resulted, to his great joy if not to the satisfaction of his supporters, in the election of Skeffington by a majority of one.

A pen-picture of Skeffington by Constantine Curran may be given here:²

A senior student, bearded and in knickerbockers, quick-firing in speech, of business-like address but adroitly courteous. . . . He was already a pacifist and a militant feminist and, acutely conscious of every social problem, had linked his Home Rule with labour sympathies. He loved argument and had a net opinion on every point of human behaviour. At an age when students are usually content to hold many opinions in loose solution, his were all armed *cap à pie* and ready for battle.

¹ *A Page of Irish History: Story of University College, Dublin, 1883-1909*. Talbot Press. 1930. p. 434.

² *Struggle With Fortune*. Dublin. Browne & Nolan. 1954. pp. 226-7.

Another, less authentic, but vividly descriptive picture¹: 'a blunt, brisk figure, wearing a Cavalier beard and shooting-suit, and a steadfast reader of *The Review of Reviews*'.

With his wide-ranging knowledge of current topics and mastery of the superficial dialectic which forms the staple of the game of academic debate, Skeffington carried the Society through a difficult growing period. He spoke at almost every meeting during his auditorship and, in the following session, was awarded the Society's silver medal for Oratory. He continued to be an active member for a further session, contributing at the request of the committee a paper embodying his feminist views on *The Progress of Women*.

He gave his inaugural address in the Physics Theatre on *Realism in Fiction*, with Father T. A. Finlay in the chair. Another background therefore has to be found for the following story. Skeffington had certain fixed opinions on rational dress and, so the story goes,²

As Auditor of the L. & H. he had occasion to discuss his auditorial address and the general protocol of the meeting with the President. The discussion proceeded towards a friendly close. But Skeffington was wearing his knickerbockers as usual and Father Delany ventured to say that the Auditor should wear the evening attire proper to gentlemen on such an occasion. In his staccato Ulster accent, Skeffington said: 'I'll come as I am or not at all'. And, accordingly, the whole function was abandoned.

In the following year, 1898-99, Kettle also gave his inaugural address in the Physics Theatre. "There was never any question", wrote Fitzgerald-Kenney, 'of either being delivered in the *Aula Maxima*. It was thought that the Society was not sufficiently on its feet.' We have long press reports of this inaugural with verbatim extracts from the address on *The Celtic Note in Literature*. The opening foreshadows his concern for the European tradition in literature.

The literature of a country was the treasure store of the best thoughts of the country and men of letters ought to be the nation's most useful citizens. They must lead, not lag behind. In

¹ By Joyce: in *Stephen Hero*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1944. p. 31

² Curran: *Struggle With Fortune*. p. 227.

England, Germany, and France they found great philosophic poets and metaphysicians but in Ireland which had fallen from its splendid historical reputation, which was neither commercially prosperous, mentally cultured, nor socially happy, its literature was narrowed down; it was not healthy and did not justify its existence. In it they found no love of home, no confidence in knowledge. It told its message not to the men of its own race and name but to the dilettantes of the drawingrooms of London. It groped in the past for the sorry tinsel of folklore and legend to dress them up for the delight of the stranger.

The Anglo-Celtic renaissance had in it no manly vigour, no spring of action; and since it was retrospective, speculative and exclusive, it had for the Irish no fruit but dead-sea fruit. Therefore, they, as a people, should repudiate it as an instrument of national revival.

Already the rhetorical rhythm of his later style is evident and there are indications of the coming attack on *The Countess Cathleen*.

Perhaps in his feeling for ideas, Kettle showed most clearly the receptive and energetic quality of his mind. In company there was that enlargement of mind of which Newman writes—a comparison of ideas one with another and a reaching out for the master principle amongst them. In *The Philosophy of Politics*, Kettle writes:¹

I think you will find this test of life a helpful one in your attempt to gather together in some binding idea the currents of effort that make up contemporary Ireland. Somebody has compared the role of a general idea to that of a magnet. If you bring a magnet into contact with a glass plate in which there is a confused mass of iron filings, it immediately strains and sets them into regular and beautiful patterns. The filings represent the chaos of concrete facts that experience brings thronging in on us, and the magnetic idea that makes them intelligible, as it has created them, is that of life.

‘And by life’, he writes elsewhere, ‘I mean not merely physical existence but that rich human existence which can be had only in community, that sort of life which Edmund Burke had in mind when he described the State as “a partnership

¹ Reprinted in *The Day's Burden*. p. 8. Dublin. Maunsell. 1910.

in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection”.’

Walking with Kettle in the Tyrol as we were descending from a mountain peak, alongside a glacial river, he cast his eyes on a clear limpid rivulet mingling with the turbulent bluish-white waters, and expressed his nostalgia for the early years when he lived among ideas. ‘That rivulet’, he said, ‘has the purity and freshness that my life had before it got mixed with the turbulence of politics.’ Perhaps a passing, but a quintessential mood.

In response to enquiries, James Fitzgerald-Kenney wrote:

I was not present, so far as I remember, when Joyce read either of his papers. He was, however, a person greatly thought of in those days. He had published an article on Ibsen in *The Fortnightly* and this we rightly regarded as a great achievement. The only recollection, however, that I have of anything he said in debate was that he closed a speech with a quotation from *Vanity Fair* which he declared to be an extreme example of pessimism, which I did not follow. The passage ran something as follows: ‘so Amelia prayed all night for George; but George was lying dead with a bullet in his heart’. Probably this is verbally very inaccurate but it conveys the idea¹. Joyce had a very good appearance and an excellent delivery. But none of us thought we were listening to a man who would be, one day, a world figure in literature. Louis J. Walsh, whom you mention, was very fluent, and his fluency no doubt appealed to the crowd. But Clery, Kettle and the *Cui Bono* set generally² had a poor opinion of him.

Amongst the good speakers who combined matter, form and delivery, I think in those days, however they afterwards developed, there was little to choose. Kettle in matter and especially in form was first, but he had a poor delivery. He bent forward and swayed his body backwards and forwards. Clery was very good, though too deprecatory: Skeffington, forcible and clear with a staccato but not unpleasant delivery; Kennedy, good; Callan, the most mature of all. But Kinahan was delightful, though of course nothing like the humorous speaker he became in after years when he was at the Bar and for all of us—in public and private—a delight to listen to. Those are the speakers that made

¹ ‘No more firing was heard at Brussels—the pursuit rolled miles away. Darkness came down on the field and city: and Amelia was praying for George, who was lying on his face, dead, with a bullet through his heart.’

² For the *Cui Bono* club at this time, see *A Page of Irish History*, p. 334.

most impression on me. If you liked, as you say you did, my speeches, I think it was due to the fact that I was always regarded as an *advocatus diaboli* deliberately electing to speak on the unpopular side and to annoy my audience by putting forth unpopular views. I think that if you look at the result figures, I never spoke on the side that won.

The foregoing survey covers mainly the session of 1898-99, when Kettle was Auditor. Already styles of speaking had been formed amongst the seniors, but the freshmen of the year—Walsh, Joyce and Kinahan—struck new notes. At the end of the session, popular acclaim awarded the President's gold medal for Oratory to Louis J. Walsh from Maghera, Co. Derry, who spoke with a harsh voice and northern accent but with a command of the rhetoric of the Irish orators of the nineteenth century. His style did not appeal to some who thought it was flowery, melodramatic and lacking in matter.

As he relates in *Our Own Wee Town*¹, he got his early introduction to debate not in college halls but in McGurk's the shoemaker's workshop of that 'Wee Town' listening, though he barely understood a word:

whilst Master Owens read a speech by Sexton, or Healy, or O'Brien, or Dillon or maybe by Parnell himself. When the Parnell Split came I was old enough to take a precocious interest in politics and it was then that I learned to appreciate fully the excellence of the workshop as a national and international forum; where enthusiastic listeners were provided for Master Owens and the pertinacious tailor on the merits of the controversy that then rent Ireland.

A training through the recitation of classical Irish orators in a Carmelite college developed his natural bent. A youth of seventeen and a kinsman believed that Walsh enjoyed disturbing the rippling surface of urbane debating by his flamboyant outbursts which echoed around the Physics Theatre. His legal apprenticeship took him away from Dublin in the following sessions, but he made a memorable and dramatic re-entry in 1902, as will shortly appear.

The year 1899 was an *annus mirabilis* for Arthur Clery. He

¹ Dublin. Talbot Press. 1928. pp. 18 and 19.

commenced his auditorship and he led the lists in the Second Arts examinations. His auditorial address, *Irish Genius in English Prose*, boldly asserting that the Anglo-Irish writers—Swift, Burke and Berkeley—‘are the true representatives of our genius in so far as it has taken form in English’, was worthy of the occasion. For with this address the dignified formality of holding a public inaugural meeting in the *Aula Maxima* was resumed. It had lapsed since the auditorships of William Magennis (1888-89) and J. F. Howley (1889-90). John Dillon, who had seconded the vote of thanks to Magennis, proposed the vote to Clery. It was seconded by Judge Richard Adams, who had proposed the vote of thanks to Howley; and thus the gap of years was bridged.

Clery’s cultured eighteenth-century style, already formed, sustained *The Leader* for over thirty years by a flow of articles over the name ‘Chanel’. We owe to them the selection *Dublin Essays*, containing not only his auditorial address but also the paper that he read to the Society eight months previously, on March 11th, 1899 (not in 1898 as stated in *Dublin Essays*). This paper was entitled: *The Theatre—Its Educational Value*. The thesis of the title, if not the thesis of the actual paper, attracted to its discussion nearly all the leading speakers of that session: Callan, Collins, Dawson, Joyce, Kennedy, Kinahan, McDonald, McMahon, Skeffington, and, of course, the then Auditor, Kettle. Of these, only the names of Kettle, Collins, Kennedy, and Skeffington appear on the manifesto directed against *The Countess Cathleen* two months later, in May, 1899. Thus, taking the group of students who had shown their interest in discussing the theatre, there is no support for the oft-quoted statement of Gorman¹ that ‘all the students were gently coerced into signing it. That is all except one. Joyce contemptuously refused to add his signature to the rest.’

¹ Herbert Gorman. *James Joyce*. London. John Lane The Bodley Head. 1941. p. 60.

The Countess Cathleen was first performed on May 8th, 1899. Joseph Holloway noted in his diary that: ‘About twenty brainless, beardless, idiotic youths did all they could to interfere with the progress of the play and frequently mentioned the name of Davis’. On May 9th, the *Freeman’s Journal* reported that: ‘A small organized knot of less than a dozen disorderly boys, who evidently mistook the whole moral significance of the play, cast ridicule on themselves

Why did Arthur Clery select his paper on *The Theatre: Its Educational Value*—for inclusion in *Dublin Essays*? Was it because it was an early effort, or for his visionary scheme of a university theatre to foster native drama?

I would establish a university theatre where plays might be enacted not with elaborate scenic paraphernalia, but rather like the performance of the *Comédie française*, as a mode of education. Advancing even a step further than the *Comédie française* we might have not only a vigorous native drama, vigorous particularly in comedy, but the best productions of other countries, performed in the original.

The paper is a tantalizing document. It reads as if it had been sub-edited with an attenuation of all references to the contemporaneous theatrical activities of Dublin. His leitmotive is the Aristotelian principle 'that in affecting and amusing the proper end of the theatre should be to produce elevation'. He is uncompromising in applying this principle. Musical farces, productions of George Alexander and the plays of Pinero and Hendrik Ibsen fall before it. After Shakespeare and

by hissing the demons under the impression they were hissing the poet'. The next day, however, T. W. Rolleston wrote: 'It happens that I was sitting close to the "dozen disorderly boys" referred to by your correspondent. . . . They expressed their sentiments with vigour but in a perfectly gentlemanlike manner. They flung no insults at the author or the company; they made no attempt to seriously interfere with the performance, and they applauded as vigorously as anyone, nay, they even led the applause at some of the fine and touching passages in the play.'

The protest against *The Countess Cathleen* was published in the *Freeman's Journal* on the same day, May 10th. It concludes: 'But when Mr. William Butler Yeats is apparently treated as the leader, the pattern and the despair of the modern Irish intellectual movement, as a reliable painter of Irish life and an accurate analyst of Irish character, then despite the "sober follies of the wise and great" who countenance his work in these aspects, we feel it our duty in the name and for the honour of Dublin Catholic students of the Royal University to protest against an art, even a dispassionate art, which offers as a type of our people a loathsome brood of apostates'.

This protest was signed by the following members of the L. & H.: T. M. Kettle, J. C. Skeffington, John Francis Byrne, P. J. O'Brien, Geo. Clancy, Wm. Fallon, J. Clandillon, R. J. D. Sheehy, L. J. Walsh, J. V. Clarke, Aodh Kennedy, G. M. Collins, Alphonsus J. Farrelly, F. McDonald, James A. Murnaghan.

The other signatories were: P. J. Merriman, D. J. McGrath, J. J. Power, J. O'Toole, P. J. Dwyer, Arthur Harrison, E. Clarke, J. Houlihan, E. B. Healy, P. Kent, Patrick J. Dwyer, C. E. O'Brien, R. G. Moore, G. Madden, Patrick J. Heffernan, Wm. Nunan, Peter Walsh, Conor J. Byrne.

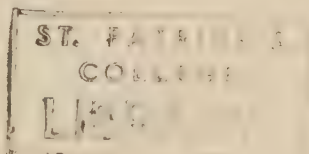
the classical Irish comedies he singles out for praise 'those plays that produce elevation through the Christian virtues of humility and kindness, virtues which ancient critics would have despised, and to which Christianity may be said to have first accorded that rank. As instance, I would take that old and simple yet moving comedy of Sydney Grundy, homely as its title *A Pair of Spectacles*, in which an audience is made to walk not in the paths of patriotism or some greater virtue, but in those of charity.'

Though he explains that by the educational value of the theatre he means the living stage with the actors upon it, no critical appraisal of any performance is given. Irving is spoken of only in connection with the proposals for corporation-governed theatres with which he used to garnish his foundation stones. 'A municipal council, though essentially selective, is not necessarily artistic. Even Aristotle's purging of the passions is not especially the province of the Public Health Department.'

In spite of its apparent reserve, we get from this paper glimpses of a personality possessing humour, learning, philosophic elevation and an idealistic outlook, whose contributions were a prominent feature of the debates of the L. & H. for some six sessions.

Hugh Kennedy was present at the revival meeting of the L. & H. in '97 and his name occurs amongst the speakers at meetings until 1903. Though entering University College before Skeffington, Clery, Curran and Kettle yet he appears as almost the youngest of the group shown in the photograph of the *Cui Bono* in *A Page of Irish History*. Delicate in his youth, he was educated at his home in Great Denmark Street. Entering University College in 1895, he graduated in classics in 1899. As he was going to the Bar, he took full advantage of the opportunities given by participating in the activities of the L. & H. to realise the liberal education pictured by Newman.

When a multitude of young men, keen, openhearted, sympathetic and observant, as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other . . . the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each and they gain for themselves new ideas, fresh matter of thought and distinct principles for judging and acting day-by-day.



I recall a talk with him during his secretaryship of the L. & H. in the entrance hall of 86, slender of build with a bloom of health on his cheeks, full of enthusiasm for the L. & H. and its importance to College life, speaking in grave and measured tones that offset his youthful appearance. Dawson has remarked that Kennedy was solemn and didactic and took his committee work very seriously. This serious approach to College affairs had its deep root in a passion for striving toward perfection in what he was doing which he carried into his professional life and may in all probability be regarded as the key to his success. He also combined the outlook of a strategist with a detachment capable of activating others with different abilities to use their special capacities or methods to achieve desired ends, not always as smoothly as he would wish. He was perhaps rather an influence in the L. & H. than influential. He could be described as a pivotal personality around whom occur happenings of note.

On his appointment as secretary, the minutes are written up in a formal style in his careful handwriting. New regulations are drafted for the award of medals for Oratory. At the first meeting of the committee for that session, Skeffington and Joyce undertook to read papers. And, as already described, Clery delivered his inaugural address in the *Aula Maxima*.

'No human beings', remarks Clery in *Dublin Essays*, 'were ever so proud of themselves as we, the committee, when we first held a public inaugural meeting that could vie with those of Dublin University in its splendours.'

Then there was the excitement of the threatened censorship of Joyce's paper on *Drama and Life*, which was eventually delivered on January 20th, 1900. The account given in *Stephen Hero* of the interview with the President, when walking in the handball alley, may be as biassed as the reports of Dr. Johnson of the debates in the House of Commons which ensured that the Whig dogs had not the best of the argument, yet it reads as a reasonable presentation of what took place. *Drama and Life* was on a level of abstraction unusual in the Society. The fictional account in *Stephen Hero* embodies, as commentators have observed, several sentences to be found in the introduction

of the paper on Mangan, and the reported discussion appears to be blended with the atmosphere of the discussion on that paper.

At the end of the year, Kennedy was awarded the President's gold medal for Oratory. It is not surprising that, with this distinction added to his record as secretary, he received fifteen votes against nine for James Joyce in the election for the auditorship for the session 1900-01. His auditorial address was the first of several on the Irish university question. The inaugural thus became part of that agitation for a university for Catholics which had been revived in 1898 and was carried on ceaselessly in one form or another during these years.

On the close of his term as Auditor, Kennedy continued his association with College life as editor of *St. Stephen's* which first appeared in June 1901. To it we owe many lively records of the student life of University College during the years 1901-06. It is my recollection that the project of its publication grew out of the discussions carried on during the Jubilee processions of the members of the Sodality in the spring of 1901. As secretary and Auditor of the L. & H. Kennedy had been in the full current of discussion of opinions, ideas and principles in University College. He felt that there was truly a liberal education going on in spite of the austere conditions (compared with the endowments of other University institutions) he had described in his inaugural address. There was the contact of minds and the play of intellect with the personal intercourse between professor and student, which is regarded as constituting the ideal values of university education. The origin of *St. Stephen's* is associated in my mind with discussions with Kennedy on these lines during the processional walks. He had the vision of a publication—a record of university life which would give permanent evidence of the vitality of our student activities. Father Browne gave the proposal much encouragement and acted as the channel through which the support of the College authorities was obtained.

The format and layout of *St. Stephen's* were the fruit of the collaboration of Father Browne, who had a thorough acquaintance with the techniques of printing and publishing, and of Kennedy, showing that care for thoroughness and style

which characterized him. This recollection of mine finds confirmation in *Who's Who* where Kennedy is given as 'founder and first editor of *St. Stephen's*'. It has been said that Kennedy strove to give his editorials the tone of *The Times*. Undoubtedly a grave air pervaded his own writing and speaking but he was keenly appreciative of the lighter mood introduced by Chancel in *Parvula Blandula* and by *Auditor Tantum* (Dawson), in the reports of the L. & H. As editor, he showed that capacity, which we associate with a good dramatic producer, of calling out the special abilities of his contributors. The invitations to Joyce and Skeffington to contribute articles, even if not directly initiated by him, were in line with his aims as editor. The sequel was that articles were submitted and rejected. Their publication as *Two Essays* by Gerrard was met in *St. Stephen's* by a solemn editorial paragraph condemnatory of Joyce's *In the Day of the Rabblement* and by *Parvula Blandula* who dealt with the situation in the archival style of a State Paper from the Record Office¹. The storm blew over; and it was while Kennedy was still editor that Joyce gave his paper on Mangan for publication.

Another *Auditor Tantum*, the present writer, who was then also a member of the editorial staff of *St. Stephen's*, recalls from the dim recesses of memory an editorial discussion on the printing of the paper with all its quotations. In order to preserve Joyce's text, considerations of space compelled the omission of certain lines quoted. Only two lines survived in the printed version. These were from the verses *To Mihri* and they had broken on the ears of the audience with a strange musical cadence:

*My starlight, my moonlight, my midnight, my noonlight,
Unveil not, unveil not.*

They precede a paragraph which must have been abbreviated by the omission of other quotations. What these may have

¹ Some years ago, in the auditorship of Mr. O'Kelly, research was made into the earlier history of the Society. The late Mr. Gerrard, then the senior partner in the firm of Gerrard and Hughes, was approached on this matter. He stated that: 'Sheehy-Skeffington and Joyce came after his time' in University College and his only recollection of them was 'when they both approached him to print *The Day of the Rabblement*. This he did, hand-setting the type himself, for a fee of 10 guineas which to his surprise was promptly paid on delivery'. (Ed.)

been, we can only conjecture. It is likely that amongst them were those from the two poems which Gorman tells us Joyce set to music, *Morn and Eve* and the *Swabian Popular Song* and which are mentioned in the paper as sustaining their music unbroken. From the first, we take the lines which Louise Imogen Guiney describes as 'melodiously overlapping and of extraordinary sweetness'.

*Morn and eve a star invites me,
One imploring, silver star,
Woos me, calls me, lures me, lights me,
To the desert deeps afar.*

Joyce is, however, alone in singling out the *Swabian Popular Song*, of which only an extract can be given.

*Where are they, the beloved,
The gladsome, all?
They left the festal hearth and hall,
They pine afar from us in alien climes,
O, who shall bring them back to us once more?*

The rhythmical melody of these lines may serve as a background to the abbreviated paragraph which follows, telling us what Joyce esteemed in Mangan's verse:

And when the music shakes off its langour and is full of the ecstasy of combat, as in the 'Lament for Sir Maurice Fitzgerald', and in 'Dark Rosaleen', it does not attain to the quality of Whitman indeed, but is tremulous with all the changing harmonies of Shelley's verse. Now and then this note is hoarsened and a troop of unmannerly passions echoes it derisively, but two poems, at least sustain the music unbroken, the 'Swabian Popular Song' and a translation of two quatrains by Wetzel. To create a little flower, Blake said, is the labour of ages and even one lyric has made Dowland immortal; and the matchless passages which are found in other poems are so good that they could not have been written by any one but Mangan. He might have written a treatise on the poetical art for he is more cunning in his use of the musical echo than is Poe, the high priest of most modern schools, and there is a mastery, which no school can teach, but which obeys

an interior command, which we may trace in 'Kathaleen-Ny-Houlahan', where the refrain changes the trochaic scheme abruptly for a line of firm, marching iambs.

This passage is inset in a paper which had the structure of a symphony. Beginning with the basic tones of romanticism and classicism, the first movement rose to a discussion of the judgment of the artist in relation 'to the highest knowledge and to those laws which do not take holiday because men and times forget them'. The second movement dealt with Mangan the man. The third movement, considering Mangan the writer, was an arabesque of language interwoven with rhythmic phrases from the verses of Mangan's oriental dreamland: 'a prayer that peace may come again to her who has lost her peace, the moon-white pearl of his soul, Ameen', leading to those lines from *To Mihri* and to that evaluation of the poems already quoted in an abbreviated printed form. This movement concluded with an eloquent passage echoing the phrase at the head of the printed essay: 'a memorial I would have . . . a constant presence with those that love me', recalling the preoccupation of Mangan with death and the orient. 'To tell the truth he has been in love with death all his life, like another, and with no woman, and he has the same gentle manner as of old to welcome him whose face is hidden with a cloud, who is named Azrael.' The final movement returns to the highest abstractions about poetry in relation to the mournful verses of Mangan, with a finale beginning: 'Beauty, the splendour of truth, is a gracious presence when the imagination contemplates intensely the truth of its own being or the visible world, and the spirit which proceeds out of truth and beauty is the holy spirit of joy'; and then soaring to a conclusion of musical and oracular utterance.

The paper tried its audience hard. A symphony can scarcely be fully appreciated at a first hearing. C. P. Curran writes: 'Joyce's delivery remains in my memory—his voice metallic in its clearness and very deliberate as if coming from some old and distant oracle'.

Nor can a single reading exhaust all the meaning that Joyce put into this essay on Mangan, for there is apparent in it much

JOHN DILLON

Auditor, 1874-1875



ROBERT DONOVAN

Auditor, 1884-1885



thought and deep sincerity. Now, in the retrospect of fifty years, it has become clear that, in the short space of this paper, Joyce has shown that, more than any other commentator, he has penetrated with full sympathy into the inner citadel of the mind of Mangan. The paper, indeed, possesses an enduring and fundamental importance in relation to Mangan similar to that conceded to the memorable essay by Francis Thompson on Shelley.

The discussion of a paper of such a high intensity breaks the spell it imposes on the audience. It is impossible to maintain the tension. The descent is rapid. Proposing the vote of thanks, John E. Kennedy contented himself, perhaps wisely, with speaking of Mangan in the undistinguished manner of O'Donoghue's article on Mangan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Kettle had demanded in his inaugural that poets be the leaders of a nation, and so could have little sympathy with an essay which gave so little attention to poems about Ireland. His speech seconding the vote left no impression. It was L. J. Walsh who again raised the tension of the meeting, in opposition. With the philistinism of young Ulster, as *Auditor Tantum* records, he spoke in harsh northern accents, deriding the values given by Joyce to the German and oriental poems of Mangan, thereby parting company with his mentor John Mitchel who had recognised their merit. We can imagine Walsh quoting in his urge for national poetry: 'kindly Irish of the Irish, Neither Saxon nor Italian'. His unreceptive attitude, expressed with rhetorical forcefulness, belongs to a mood of Irish criticism of Mangan. Though it may have been violently unfair, this outburst gave a dramatic quality to the discussion. Clery and Murnaghan, without accepting the views of the paper, restored a calmer atmosphere by discussing it in more urbane tones, perhaps according to what Francis Thompson has termed the rusty rules of academic convention.

That night William Magennis was in the chair, as he had been when Joyce read his paper on *Drama and Life*. He had a deep appreciation of Joyce's talent for writing, dating from the time when, as examiner in English in the intermediate examinations, he had awarded him first prize in English composition.

These examination essays must have been of singular merit, for Magennis stated that they could have been printed straightway. Nothing had been said in the discussion to mitigate the harshness of the opinions set forth by Walsh. It fell to Magennis to bring the proceedings to a worthy close by giving a considered defence of the views of the paper and by declaiming, in magnificent and sympathetic style, *The Nameless One*.

There remained one final dramatic episode. Acknowledging the vote of thanks, Joyce made the defiant prophecy associated with Disraeli of a time coming when he would be heard.

The report in *St. Stephen's* by that lively commentator *Auditor Tantum* is far from satisfying though it does give us some of the dramatic atmosphere which pervaded the meeting.

The 'hatter's' paper proved highly interesting. Every one went home feeling that he knew a great deal more about Mangan's purposes and aims than he had known when he entered the theatre. The most entertaining part of the evening was the boy-orator's *rentrée*. Filled (doubtless by reason of his golden spoils even in the past) with a confidence and daring that the poor ordinary member could never attain to, he made a bold frontal attack on Mr. Joyce and the Nolan. The rabblement, whom the mention of Giacosa and Paracelsus customarily appals, rallied with 'timid courage' to the side of the new-found champion. The idealistic cat was belled, and ignorance had a *field-day* for the nonce.

Yet, notwithstanding the Philistinism of young Ulster, Mr. Joyce certainly read a paper which displayed exceptional qualities of thought and style. If Mr. Magennis alone could understand what was meant by the 'retreating footsteps of the gods', and even he did not seem to be a thick and thin supporter of the doctrine that death is the highest form of life; still, apart from the mist which overhung the writer's closing remarks, the *exposé* and appreciation of Mangan's life and writings was almost perfect. In parts the paper itself rose to no mean height of eloquence. Mr. Magennis's summing up on this occasion was perhaps the best we have heard for years in the Society and makes one regret indeed that the other professors do not take a larger part in the Society and indeed one might say in College societies generally.

Now after fifty years, we can see that those present on that evening at the meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of University College, Dublin, were privileged to witness an

early outburst of a literary Nova which, blazing to prominence forty years ago, has ever since illumined the skies of English literature.

III.—THOMAS F. BACON

EARLY IN OCTOBER 1899, I entered University College to become one of the dozen resident students who occupied rooms on the two topmost floors of No. 86, now Newman House. On the morning after my arrival, Arthur Clery, whom I knew by sight as having been a learned Higher Line student when I was a Third Liner four years previously in Clongowes, stopped me in the entrance hall and asked if I had not spoken in debates in our old school. On my assenting, he informed me that I must join the L. & H., which, he explained, was the debating society of University College. Feeling not a little flattered by this recognition from a distinguished senior, I agreed. He then told me that the Treasurer, Louis J. Walsh, would collect a half-crown from me and give me a copy of the rules. Louis in due course got my half-crown, but it was quite a while before I ever saw the Society's rules.

In that way began an association with the Society which in the years that followed brought me much pleasure and instruction, very many lifelong friendships, and, before it closed, many headaches. The long intervening period has effaced many memories and but for the help of the old minute book, long lost but now recovered, I would be quite unequal to the task of putting together some recollections of a period in the activities of a Society which is said to have had some influence on twentieth century Irish history.

Incidentally, about the same time I became a member of the College Sodality of the B.V.M., and I still possess a print of the membership roll for 1900, tastefully produced in blue and gold, in which appear the names of nearly all those who were then members of the Literary and Historical, including James A. Joyce.

About a month after my becoming a member of the Society,

the Junior Secretary, Hugh Boyle Kennedy, informed me that I had been co-opted to the committee. He added that his friend Arthur Clery was chiefly responsible for the perpetration of this misfeasance, which in his opinion was a contravention of all the rules, and quite illegal. When I learned later that this co-option of a student who had not yet matriculated was at the expense of Thomas M. Kettle, ex-Auditor, I had no doubt whatever that the opinion of the future Chief Justice of Saorstát Éireann was entirely correct. My guilty conscience, however, was slightly eased a fortnight later when Tom Kettle was co-opted in the place of Francis Skeffington, who had resigned.

It may not be out of place to describe here the forum of the Society's activities during the time when the College was carried on under the Jesuit Fathers at 85 and 86 St. Stephen's Green.

As one reached the first floor by the main staircase in No. 85, one found on the right-hand or northern side, the College Chapel, which had been the salon of the old mansion.

From the opposite or southern side of the landing opened the 'Physics Theatre'. The three pointed windows at the farther end of the room form a bay, and, in front of, and close to them, were four rows of benches descending in tiers towards the door, those at the sides being angled to follow the bay of the windows. Stretching across the room about midway between the front bench and the door was a long table, the demonstration bench of the Professor of Physics. For the occasions of our debates this table was covered by a green baize cloth, and at it sat the chairman and the officers of the Society, facing the benches. Inside the room, at the left-hand side of the entrance, where there is now only a curved recess, was a cupboard which was used for storing sweeping-brushes and similar equipment. This cupboard opened on to the landing by another door, and thus afforded to ill-disposed persons an avenue not infrequently availed of for attack from the rear upon the occupants of the table. Possibly it may have been with the object of obviating this risk that at a later period, as I have been informed, the students' benches were placed along the left-hand wall, and the officers sat opposite, with their backs

to the fireplace. Adjoining the Physics Theatre on the left or eastern side was the President's study. Above it was his bedroom, which was approached by a spiral staircase that in those days ran from the basement to the top of the house. The proximity of the study was uncomfortable for the President, and embarrassing for the debaters. The angle benches at the right-hand side as one looked from the door were the favourite seats of Kettle, Skeffington and Joyce when taking part in debates. An audience of fifty crowded the room uncomfortably, and we often had more than that number. The illumination at night was furnished by two gas jets with mantle burners, which were so unsatisfactory that during Arthur Clery's auditorship the secretary was directed to 'procure and have at each debate a pair of white wax candles for the convenience of the gentleman occupying the chair'.

The lapse of time makes it difficult for me to give anything except general impressions about the style or the merits of the oratory that flowed within these walls fifty years ago. Naturally not all of us were either orators or good debaters, but, at all periods during my membership, there were some who were invariably superlative. In the period to 1902, Skeffington, Kettle, Joyce and Clery, and in the subsequent years to 1906, W. Dawson, Richard and Eugene Sheehy, and F. Cruise O'Brien, were the outstanding speakers.

Of these, Tom Kettle was the one who impressed us as being the most deliberative and constructive in debate. He spoke with his body bent slightly forward, and had a peculiar little mannerism of raising his right hand quickly to his head and then withdrawing it slowly as if taking a pencil or a cigarette from above his ear. His measured pace and thoughtful manner gave the impression that one could see his mind working. His contemporaries, Skeffington and Joyce, on the other hand, inclined in debate more towards what might be described as destructive criticism, but in very different styles. Skeffington's arguments, in his crisp Ulster accent, came in sharp telling bursts, suggestive of machine-gun fire, and with the same shattering effect on the views of his opponents. Joyce, thin and pale, stood erect, scarcely moving, cold and undisturbed

by interruptions (and he had many), and seemed in passionless tones to wither the opposition by his air of indifferent disdain. So far as I am aware, he never addressed the Society after reading his famous paper on Mangan in February 1902.

In the election for the session 1901-1902 the candidates for the auditorship were Robert J. Kinahan and W. Dawson, the former being successful. Kinahan in his auditorial address on *The Social Problem* introduced to the Society, for the first time, the word 'proletariat', which thenceforth, became part of the vocabulary of many of our debaters. This session, in addition to being that in which Joyce delivered his address on James Clarence Mangan, owed further distinction to there being held in it a debate on the subject: *That the Irish Language Movement is the Essential Element in Irish Nationality*. The chairman was Padraic H. Pearse, that being the only occasion on which he spoke at a meeting of the Society. It may have been due to the fervour inspired by Pearse that the Society, on the motion of W. G. Fallon, voted a subscription of £1 to the Irish Language Fund. This 'misappropriation' of the Society's moneys provoked the resignation of Francis Skeffington from membership, and a successful claim for the return of his half-crown subscription. Before his untimely death while on Circuit in 1921, 'Bobby' Kinahan had become one of the most colourful and popular members of the Leinster Bar. A unique performance was his appearance on the same day before the County Court Judges of Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary in their respective bailiwicks. He was a very successful defence counsel, and it was his boast that none of his 'murderers' was ever hanged.

For the session 1902-1903, William Dawson (afterwards familiar as 'Avis' to readers of *The Leader*), was elected unopposed to the auditorship. His inaugural address was on *Problems of Progress* and during his tenure of office there was a complete revision of the Society's rules. In the debates during the session John Marcus O'Sullivan had an average mark of 7.5 per speech as against 7.45 for James (afterwards Mr. Justice) Murnaghan, and the Society unanimously agreed to award gold medals to both of them. John P. Doyle was successful against William

Fallon in the election for auditorial honours for the session 1903-1904. At his inaugural address on *The Idea of a University*, one of the speakers was Richard Adams, K.C., Judge of the Limerick County Court, well-known for his pungent and sometimes malicious wit. In an attack on the Intermediate system of education, the Judge said that when he sometimes saw in the street a seedy, down-at-heel and out-at-elbows individual and enquired who he was, he was usually told: 'Oh, that's James St. John Poldoodle that got the Gold Medal in the Intermediate'. It so happened that there was practising in the south of Ireland at the time a solicitor who was anything but seedy in appearance. In fact he was one of the best-dressed and most successful solicitors of his time, and had been an Intermediate medallist. Unfortunately, he bore the Christian names of 'James St. John', and he was present at the meeting. Nobody believed that the Judge's choice of names was accidental.

Dick Sheehy as Auditor read his inaugural address on 10th November, 1904, his subject being *National Ideals and Conciliation*. Tom Kettle, a month later, read a paper on *The Hungarian Policy*. Needless to say, the speakers on these occasions were by no means unanimous in their views as to what was best for Ireland. But the ideas which found expression at these meetings, and which were soon to reach a wider public through the medium of Kettle's weekly, *The Nationist*, and the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League, of which he was chairman and many from the Society were members, showed that a new and more keenly critical outlook on national affairs had awakened among the younger generation of educated Irishmen. So far as University College was concerned, the spirit of revolution was not yet above the horizon. But a definite and lasting discontent with ineffective political methods had manifested itself, and at no place or time had this discontent been more vocal than in the Literary and Historical Society during the five years which culminated in Richard Sheehy's auditorship.

On his retirement at the end of the College Summer Term in 1905, Dick Sheehy proposed me for auditorship, to which I was elected for the 1905-1906 session, my seconder being

the late Edward J. Kelly, M.A., subsequently Member of Parliament for East Donegal. The committee were: Gerald O'Byrne, F. Cruise O'Brien, R. J. Sheehy, J. E. Kennedy, J. V. Clarke, P. J. Little, and E. Sheehy. Later in the year T. A. Mangan replaced J. E. Kennedy (resigned).

The committee early in October, 1905, fixed 8th November following as the date for the inaugural meeting, and invitations to speak on the platform on that occasion were issued and accepted by Dr. John P. Mahaffy, S.F.T.C.D., later the Provost of Trinity College, Sir Christopher Nixon, Mr. Timothy Healy, K.C., and Mr. Stephen Gwynn. Shortly afterwards began the series of events which led to the first split in the Society's history.

On Friday, 27th October, 1905, the Royal University of Ireland (of which four of our committee were undergraduates), held its annual meeting for the conferring of degrees. This function had in previous years always terminated with the playing of *God Save the King* on the organ in the Great Hall of the University in Earlsfort Terrace. This practice was a source of great annoyance to the bulk of the students of University College, who in the past few years had shown their disapproval by creating a continuous uproar, which prevented the anthem from being heard. In 1904 an unsuccessful attempt had been made to exclude the students by placing police at the entrances of the University. The noise was worse than ever, and the Chancellor, the Earl of Meath, left the Hall before all the degrees had been conferred. Sir James Creed Meredith, one of the joint secretaries of the University, who (unlike his distinguished son James, later Mr. Justice Creed Meredith of the Saorstát Supreme Court) was anything but national in sentiment, took fresh measures to prevent such disloyal displays. He arranged that admission to the conferring for 1905 should be by tickets, which were issued only to the candidate graduates and their friends and a limited number of persons whose loyalty to the Crown was not suspect. The officers of the Literary and Historical were not amongst those thus favoured. All the precautions of Sir James were defeated by a Guy Fawkes-like plot engineered by John E. Kennedy,

brother of the future Chief Justice. A small band led by him and including Cruise O'Brien, Eugene Sheehy and Dr. Thomas Madden (then a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons), managed to get into the University, where they ascended to the gallery, and placed themselves in strategic positions near the organ. The conferring commenced and proceeded with quite unusual decorum until, near its close, the organist was about to take his seat to play the customary anthem. Then the conspirators emerged and took possession of organist and organ, and there was no anthem.

The standing committee of the Royal University Senate without delay summoned the 'raiders' to appear before them, including in their summons Tom Kettle (for whom Cruise O'Brien is supposed to have been mistaken) and Sarsfield Kerrigan, neither of whom had been present, except perhaps in spirit. Obedience to the summons was contemptuously refused, and the question of appropriate punishment for the offenders was referred to the Senate itself. This became known almost immediately, and the entire student body seethed with indignation.

A committee meeting of the L. & H. had been called for Sunday, 5th November, to make final arrangements for the holding of the inaugural meeting on November 8th. On the Sunday morning I received, through Father Darlington, a communication from the President, Father Delany, that it was inconvenient for him to give the use of the *Aula Maxima* to the Society on the following Wednesday. I had the unpleasant task of throwing this bombshell into the committee. After a prolonged discussion, a resolution was passed that the inaugural be held as originally arranged, and a deputation was sent to the President to endeavour to induce him to change his decision. The deputation was fruitless and the committee resolved to convene a general meeting of the Society. A day or two later Father Darlington, who at all times was the mediator and bearer of the olive branch in times of crisis in College affairs, sent for me and informed me of the motives actuating the President. The Society was not being refused the use of the *Aula Maxima* indefinitely, nor was it (as the committee

appeared to think) being turned out of the College. It was only being required to postpone the meeting to a suitable date. He (Father Darlington) pointed out that if the inaugural took place on 8th November, it would inevitably, in the then inflamed state of student feeling, assume a character far beyond a collegiate or academical one, and any resulting disturbances would be only too gladly availed of by the Unionist Press in Ireland and England and by the enemies in Parliament of the Irish University campaign, for the success of which Father Delany had so long struggled. Moreover, the question of the 'organ raiders' was still *sub judice* in the Senate, and any untimely display of indiscretion by students of the College would be likely to prejudice the future university career of those of the raiders who were undergraduates.

At the next committee meeting held on the following Sunday, the news that the Society could still hold its inaugural in the College was received with a sense of relief. The atmosphere was cooler, and we salved our wounded feelings by passing a resolution proposed by Dick Sheehy that the College authorities be surcharged with the expenses incurred by the Society by reason of the postponement of the inaugural address.

In the following week, the University Senate having in the meantime consulted the Law Officers of the Crown and decided to take no punitive measures against the offending organ raiders, the President informed us that the *Aula Maxima* would be at our disposal on Wednesday, 22nd November. The gentlemen who had consented to speak at the inaugural had now to be informed of the change of date. Dr. Mahaffy declined to speak at an academic function in a rival College where the students were at loggerheads with the authorities, in spite of my guaranteeing him at a personal interview that these circumstances would ensure him a better reception than any speakers connected with our College would receive. Mr. Stephen Gwynn had another engagement and the places of these two gentlemen were kindly taken at very short notice by Mr. M. McDonnell Bodkin (later the popular County Court Judge of Clare) and Mr. Thomas Molony, K.C., who was afterwards the last Lord Chief Justice of Ireland under the British régime.

The inaugural meeting was duly held in the *Aula Maxima*, on 22nd November, 1905, the subject of the address being *Higher Education and National Life*. In view of what happened to Sir Christopher Nixon on that occasion, it is proper to state that, although a graduate of Trinity, he had been in his youth a lecturer in anatomy, and was the then Dean of Faculty in the Medical School founded by Newman in Cecilia Street, and was thus a connecting link with the old Catholic University. For this reason alone, apart from any question of the courtesy due to guest speakers, he was entitled to better treatment than was accorded to him.

After the inaugural address had been read, Sir Christopher Nixon proposed the first resolution. He had not been speaking for more than a minute when a voice from the back of the hall asked: 'Why did you send your son to Trinity?' After a momentary pause, Sir Christopher continued to read his speech. The question was immediately repeated by a chorus of voices, and these and similar interruptions continued during the twenty minutes that the speech lasted. It was rumoured afterwards that at the close of the proceedings one of the platform speakers asked Sir Christopher why he had gone on speaking when it had become clear that he was not going to get a hearing, and that the reply was that he had to deliver the whole speech because a copy of it had already been given to the press. The other speakers received only a normal amount of heckling.

The 'barracking' of Sir Christopher by our students in their own College, and in the presence of an audience containing many ladies, exceeded the limits customarily allowed to students at University functions, and merited the strong reproof administered by the President when, at the end of Sir Christopher's speech, he apologised to the audience on behalf of his College.

This was, I think, recognised by the interrupters themselves, if one might judge by the applause which the back of the hall gave to the President after his closing address.

In the course of the session papers were read by Gerald O'Byrne on *The Predominant Partner in History*, by Patrick J.

Little on *George Eliot*, and by William Keane (a Jesuit novice from Australia) on *The Influence of Greece on Modern Life*. The only other event of interest was the inter-college debate with the Literary and Scientific Society of Queen's College, Belfast, at which members of both societies impartially spoke on the extremely uninspiring subject: *That Cosmopolitanism is the Legitimate Goal of Political Evolution*.

In May, 1906, Francis Cruise O'Brien was elected as Auditor of the Society for the session 1906-1907, with a committee consisting of Gerald O'Byrne, Patrick J. Little, T. F. Bacon, T. A. Mangan, Maurice Healy, Aedan Cox, and Thomas Bodkin. In accordance with the usual practice, meetings of the committee were held in October to make arrangements for the inaugural meeting, the date of which was provisionally fixed for Wednesday, 14th November. From this point, the history of the preceding year began to repeat itself, but in an accentuated form, and with more disastrous consequences for the Society.

On 26th October, 1906, the Royal University held its meeting for the conferring of degrees. The students were once more excluded, and returned in a body to 86 St. Stephen's Green with the object of holding a protest meeting on the steps of the College. The gathering having ignored a message from the President, requesting that this meeting should not be held there, members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, on his instructions, prevented the intended demonstration.

On the following Sunday a meeting of the committee of the Literary and Historical Society, at which five of the eight members were present, passed and forwarded to the President a resolution censuring him for exposing the students to insulting treatment at the hands of the police. On Tuesday, 30th October, a meeting of the committee, from which only one member (Gerald O'Byrne) was absent, rejected by four votes to three a motion for the deletion of the resolution of censure. Various attempts were then made to secure a peaceful settlement without giving up the right which the committee had claimed for the Society to act as the representative of student opinion, and eventually, on 2nd November, the resolution of censure

was rescinded. But as the rescinding resolution asserted that the resolution of censure was not *ultra vires* the powers of the Society, it found no favour with the College authorities, and at a committee meeting held on 13th November a notification was received from the Council of the College that the Auditor had been rusticated for twelve months, and had thereby ceased to be a member of the Society. The Council further declined to recognise the Society as the legitimate mouth-piece of student opinion in matters relating to the government of the College.

The volcano was now in full eruption. Three of the committee (Maurice Healy, Aedan Cox and the writer), having failed to secure the adoption of a more conciliatory attitude towards the authorities, withdrew from the meeting. The Auditor and the members supporting him (T. A. Mangan, O'Connell Sullivan and John A. Ronayne), convened an extraordinary general meeting of the Society for 17th November.

This meeting, after a heated discussion, supported the attitude of the Auditor, and passed a resolution declining to recognise any jurisdiction in the governing authorities of the College to expel any member from the Society, or to deprive an officer of the authority vested in him by the Society. The resolution was passed *nem. con.*, those who had opposed it taking no part in the voting.

The cleavage in the Society was complete. The Auditor and the group supporting him could no longer function within the College as a College body, and they took the extreme, but in their view, unavoidable step of exiling themselves. When departing from the College, Cruise O'Brien's party took with them the old minute book in which were recorded the Society's proceedings from 1884 onwards. The minutes of this period, which are in John O'Byrne's handwriting, conclude with a record of a general meeting in the Oak Room of the Mansion House, on 25th May, 1907, apparently the last meeting held outside the College. This historical document has now been restored to the Society, and is now in the College archives.

The 'conservative' group, to which Healy, Cox, Bodkin, Rory O'Connor, 'Ginger' O'Connell, and many others (including

the writer) adhered, had done its best to avoid any course that would take the Society out of the College. It believed that, if the Society cut itself off from the College, it would die when its activities were no longer guided (as in course of time would inevitably happen), by the men who had brought about its secession. Many of us felt, too, that the Society, which had owed its revival in 1897, and a great measure of its success as a factor in our University education, to the continued interest and encouragement of Father Delany, would be guilty of something more than ingratitude if, in the end, it turned its back upon him because of a severe exercise of his presidential authority in a matter of College discipline. In that spirit, though saddened and weakened by the departure of so many able colleagues, our group carried on the work of the Society in the old surroundings under Maurice Healy's leadership for the remainder of the 1906-1907 session. It was our hope in this way to maintain in the College a nucleus which new generations of students could develop into a body that would equal the old Society in its best days. Maurice Healy was deservedly elected Auditor for the 1907-1908 session, and was followed in the auditorship for 1908-1909 by Tom Bodkin. These were two active and progressive sessions for the Society. They saw the enactment of the Universities Act of 1908, and the successful conclusion of the work done for Catholic education by University College under the Jesuit Fathers. It was the end of a period to which the students of that generation owed much, and to which those of us who survive are proud to have belonged.

The new College was on the stocks, and optimism for the fulfilment of Irish educational aspirations was in the air. And the old Society was alive, and ready to go forward with its traditions into the new era.

IV.—EUGENE SHEEHY

MY BROTHER RICHARD (called 'Dick', of course) and I were active members of the Society for many years. Three of its most prominent members, namely, Kettle, Skeffington and Cruise O'Brien were brothers-in-law of mine,

and we and many others were then also members of the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L., where we constantly debated the burning political problems of the day. This possibly explains why so many debates in the Society during these years were concerned with political topics such as Land Reform, Land Purchase, Women's Suffrage, the Hungarian Policy and, of course, Ireland's claim for a National University. The debates in my time were all held in the Physics Theatre. I don't know what was the seating capacity of this room; but it was very limited, and the attendance at debates was sparse. I see recorded in the minutes of the Society that fifty-seven was regarded as a rather full house. Lady students were not permitted to attend; and even a motion that they should be admitted for one debate each year, to be held in the *Aula Maxima*, was defeated. They were allowed to be present at the inaugural meetings. This was the only concession made to the unfairly-treated sex. In other respects, Mr. Barrett of Wimpole Street was still in control.

Another interesting point to record is that at the debates no member, as far as I can remember, spoke in Irish. Indeed there was then very little enthusiasm shown by the Society on behalf of the language, and a motion by William Fallon that £1.0.0. be given to the Irish Language Fund was only carried after lively discussion.

The Auditors of the Society during the period were in the following order—Robert Kinahan, William Dawson, John P. Doyle, R. J. Sheehy, T. F. Bacon and Cruise O'Brien. I was present at the inaugural addresses of each of these Auditors and in this short chapter I can now only convey what lingers in my memory.

Kinahan's subject was Socialism. Timothy Harrington, M.P., who was then Lord Mayor, was in the chair and two of the speakers, Swift MacNeill and William Field, were also members of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Kinahan was a clever and witty debater who affected a rather precious way of expressing his thoughts and loved to use a high-sounding and unusual word. In his address on Socialism, he introduced us to the word 'proletariat' and I and many other students had to

consult our dictionaries to find out what he meant.

At William Dawson's inaugural, Father William Delany was in the chair, and the chief speaker was the Hon. William Gibson who wore, as was his custom, the Irish kilt and stated that he was 'by hard necessity compelled to speak to them in English, a tongue which should be foreign to them all'. Dawson's father, Charles Dawson, had been Auditor of the Society in the year 1867, and was afterwards elected Lord Mayor of Dublin. He was on the platform to hear the address, and must have been very proud of the high compliments paid to his son, who was then one of the most active members of the Society and the wittiest speaker at many of its debates.

John P. Doyle's address was on *The Modern Idea of a University*. The chief speaker was Dr. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, who, according to a comment on his speech in the *Freeman's Journal*, disclosed some aspects of the university question which were too much ignored in its discussion and who further proclaimed 'there is not a University College in Ireland, Trinity not excluded, that is abreast of the times'. Judge Adams also spoke on this occasion. He was famed for his wit, of which he provided a sample when speaking at Arthur Clery's inaugural address on *Irish Genius in English Prose*, in the year 1899. Referring to the bestowal of the Poet Laureateship on Austin, the Judge's epigrammatic comment was that 'small men throw long shadows when the sun is setting'.

The next Auditor was my brother, Richard. The title of his address was *National Ideals and Conciliation*. It dealt with the efforts of William O'Brien, M.P., and George Wyndham, M.P., to secure generous purchase terms for Irish landlords, and by this means to prevail on Lord Dunraven and others to join with the Irish leaders in an united and all-out effort to obtain Home Rule. The Auditor appealed to those Irishmen, buttressed by rank and privilege, not to remain satisfied with a subordinate position in an alien Parliament whilst a high and honourable status was theirs to obtain in a national one. Mr. John Dillon, M.P., was the chief speaker and my father, David Sheehy, M.P., with my uncle, Rev. Eugene Sheehy, P.P., were on the platform.

I was very proud when Mr. Dillon paid a high tribute to the courage my father showed at all times during the stormy years of the Land League.

Bacon's inaugural address was on *Higher Education and National Life*, and Sir Christopher Nixon and Tim Healy, M.P., were two of the speakers. Sir Christopher had a rather rough passage owing to the vocal efforts of a Greek Chorus from Cecilia Street.

At a later stage Tim Healy's opening remarks were also rudely interrupted but, in characteristic fashion, he dealt summarily with the first offender. 'Silence, Socrates!' he thundered and, when the cheers and laughter subsided, there was peace for the rest of the proceedings. I remember that at a previous inaugural when Mr. McInerney, K.C., was interrupted, he held up his hand and said 'Ah, Stop' to the boys at the back of the Hall. He said it so plaintively and with a Munster brogue which made his words sound like 'ah, sthop' that those who came to make noise had not the heart to interrupt again. In this way the 'old hand' who appeals for fair play and adds a touch of humour often obtains a patient hearing from an audience when sterner methods fail.

The last inaugural I attended was that of Cruise O'Brien. His address was delivered in the Antient Concert Rooms as a result of the split in the Society which was the ultimate result of the raid on the organ at the conferring of degrees in 1905. I was one of the small party who seized the organ on that occasion. John E. Kennedy was the leader and announced in loud tones to an astonished assembly: 'There will be no playing of *God Save the King* today'. The Senate of the R.U.I. were very wroth at this performance and attempted to take disciplinary action against three students, namely Tom Kettle, Tom Madden, and Sarsfield Kerrigan. The students repudiated the authority of the Senate to deal with them, and in their reply quoted Edmund Burke to the effect that 'their decree was issued without authority and was returned without respect'.

My friend Sarsfield Kerrigan informs me that Tom Kettle emphasised his protest still further by hiring one night, for a half-sovereign, a band of organ-grinders to serenade Lord

Meath, and next morning the unfortunate Chancellor had to listen for some hours to six or seven hurdy-gurdies contriving together to produce a form of refined torture which might well win full marks in a concentration camp.

I do not propose to deal further with the events which led to the cleavage in the Society. Father Henry Browne, S.J., has dealt rather fully and very fairly with this unhappy quarrel in *A Page of Irish History*. Cruise O'Brien, the Auditor, took a leading part in censuring the President, and was in consequence rusticated from the College for twelve months and deprived of the auditorship. It is interesting therefore to record, as Father Browne has done, O'Brien's tribute to the President in his account of the Great Schism written many years afterwards. 'Let me be fair to the Jesuits. Their point of view was twofold. One, that authority must be maintained at all costs, and, secondly, that our attitude endangered a final settlement of the University Question. It does not, however, seem to have had any such disastrous results.' And, later, he wrote of the President: 'I cherish kindly memories of Father Delany. He always fought with steel, like a gentleman, nor, I think, did he have any wish to fight at all if he could have avoided it.' The unhappy result of this dispute was that one body of students sided with Cruise O'Brien, broke away from the College and held their meetings and debates elsewhere; whilst another group remained loyal to the President and were still welcome to the Physics Theatre and *Aula Maxima*.

My brother and I were with those who seceded, and John O'Byrne—another rebel—fortified our position by taking possession of the records and minute book of the Society. These he retained for many years in spite of a burglarious effort on the part of 'Ginger' O'Connell, to regain possession thereof.

Cruise O'Brien's inaugural address was on *Democracy and Education* and was delivered on the 19th December, 1906, at the Antient Concert Rooms. My brother Richard was in the chair and the speakers were Arthur Griffith, William McGrath, B.L., (father of Rev. Aedan McGrath and of the late Garrett McGrath, who was Auditor in 1917-18), Lindsay

Crawford and Edward Little, B.L. A very large audience attended and there was a very lively discussion, which at times provoked rather heated interruptions and exchanges.

Lindsay Crawford was a Protestant Home Ruler from Ulster. He was most anti-clerical in his approach to the subject of the Auditor's address. Some of his remarks were so provocative that Bob Kinahan is reputed to have said to his companion Willie Dawson, at the back of the hall, 'The Pope is having a bad time tonight, Billy'. Several members of the audience including a few priests stood up and called on Crawford to withdraw his remarks. At this stage the chairman dealt tactfully with the situation by assuring those who interrupted that he had no doubt that Mr. Crawford's arguments would be answered very effectively later on, and so indeed they were.

I remember Edward Little's counter-attack, 'Mr. Lindsay Crawford' he said, 'has tonight dressed himself up in the cloak of Robert Emmet, the breeches of Henry Grattan and the hat of Wolfe Tone, but I can assure Mr. Lindsay Crawford that they do not fit'.

Later, when my brother summed up in what the minutes record as 'a magnificent speech', he dealt with Mr. Crawford's strictures so effectively, and to such thunders of applause, that Dawson said to Kinahan, 'After all Bob, you see the Old Religion trots up in the straight'.

During the year that followed, our little Society held debates and meetings at various places in the city—several at the University Club in No. 12 Dawson Street, two (at least) in the Dolphin Hotel and two in the Oak Room of the Mansion House. Skeffington in the Oak Room read a paper on *The Modern Dramatic Movement in Ireland*, at which Padraic Colum and Maurice Joy were the chief speakers.

At another meeting in the Mansion House, Padraic Colum read a paper on *Walt Whitman and the Poetry of Democracy*. J. B. Yeats was in the chair and amongst those who spoke were O'Leary Curtis, Tom Kettle, Maurice Joy and C. P. Curran.

Besides those I have mentioned, other active members of the group who seceded were P. A. O'Toole, Seamus O'Kelly, Callaghan McCarthy, O'Connell Sullivan, J. A. Ronayne,

J. Fitzgerald-Kenney, Timothy Mangan and P. J. Little.

Having dealt—in a rather summary manner I fear—with the Auditors and their inaugural addresses during my period, I will now touch briefly on the ordinary debates of the Society and the participants. The attendance of members was not large but the standard of debate was high; and the proceedings were always conducted in a serious and orderly manner. The President, Fr. Delany, S.J., presided over many of our debates, as did also Father T. A. Finlay, S.J., and Professor Magennis. Other famous men who presided at one or more of the debates were Padraic Pearse, George W. Russell ('Æ'), John O'Leary, Monsignor Molloy and Stephen Gwynn.

I remember well the night that John O'Leary presided at a debate. The date was January 23rd, 1904, and the motion before the House was: *That Parliamentary agitation, as a means of redress for Irish grievances, is a failure.* The famous old Fenian leader, summing up, was of opinion that nothing could be got from England except by force, and further stated: 'The Fenians would only declare war on England when that country was engaged in a life or death struggle with Russia, France, or the United States'. It is interesting to note that Germany, as a possible antagonist of Great Britain, was not provided for in his plan of campaign.

We had some difficulty in getting our distinguished chairman to sign the minutes of the previous meeting, or to put the motion to the vote at the end of the proceedings. He obviously had not much use for either voice or pen; and we felt that the strong gnarled right hand of the old Fenian leader was much more familiar with the trigger of a rifle.

I was also present in the Physics Theatre on the night of the 20th January, 1900, when James Joyce read his famous paper on *Drama and Life*. The theme of Joyce's paper was high praise of Ibsen as a dramatist; and most, if not all, of the speakers—including Mr. Magennis, who summed up—profoundly disagreed with the views advanced by Joyce, and criticised Ibsen severely on moral, religious, and artistic grounds. I read somewhere that Joyce made a *short* reply. This is certainly not accurate. Joyce spoke at considerable length, with great

intensity and fluency, and without referring to a note. The College rule was that debates should end at 10.00 p.m.; and a bell rung by the porter in the hall was the signal that time was up. On this night curfew was ignored, and Joyce kept on talking for at least thirty minutes. He dealt in masterly fashion with each of his critics in turn and to salvos of applause—even from the ranks of Tuscany. When, at the end, Seamus Clandillon pounded him on the back and exclaimed: 'That was magnificent, Joyce, but you are raving mad', he probably voiced the opinion of many of those present.

Professor Magennis again presided when, on 15th February, 1902, Joyce read a paper on *Clarence Mangan*. John Kennedy, Tom Kettle, Louis Walsh, James Murnaghan, Arthur Clery and Father George O'Neill, S.J., were the other speakers and it was a night to enjoy and remember. Indeed the *Freeman's Journal* next day, in its reference to the proceedings, stated that: 'James Joyce was deservedly applauded at the conclusion of what was generally agreed to have been the best paper ever read before the Society'.

I remember that several of Mangan's verses were quoted—some by Joyce and some by the chairman. The beautiful poem, *The Nameless One*, was recited by one or other—by Joyce as I thought, but someone who was present has assured me that we heard this from Professor Magennis. I might easily be confused on this point as I heard Joyce recite this favourite of his more than once in my father's house.

Another interesting and amusing debate in March, 1902, was on the question, then actively canvassed, whether Francis Bacon wrote the plays attributed to the pen of William Shakespeare. John P. Doyle opened in favour of the claims of Bacon, and was strongly supported by Michael Waldron. The latter speaker used chalk and blackboard to explain how Bacon availed of an anagram to convey to future generations the proof of his authorship. The apparently meaningless word *Honorificabilitudinitatibus* is mentioned in the play *Love's Labour Lost*, and a very industrious and ingenious Baconian reorganised the letters of the word to spell out the wondrous message *Hi Ludi F. Baconis Nati Tuiti Orbi*. (These plays, F. Bacon's off-

spring, are preserved to the world). I remember the disdainful thumb which Father Darlington pointed to the blackboard when he dealt with this argument, and the contempt his voice conveyed when he referred to the hieroglyphics as 'this thing'. Father Sutton, S.J., was in the chair and in summing up disclosed that he was a very enthusiastic Baconian. Indeed he became so wildly excited on the subject that James Joyce burst out into one of his characteristic bursts of laughter—loud and uncontrolled. It evidently caused Joyce's lungs to 'crow like chanticleer' that anybody could become heated over such a minor detail as the authorship of Shakespeare's plays.

Other interesting addresses delivered to the Society in my time were by Tom Kettle on *Lionel Johnson* and *The Hungarian Policy*, by E. J. Kelly on *Feudalism*, by John E. Kennedy on *Devolution and Home Rule*, by William Fallon on *The Land Question*, and by P. J. Little on *George Eliot*. Incidentally, I was very surprised to find from a perusal of the minutes that I had also read a paper on *Thomas Francis Meagher*. Strangely enough, though I have a very good memory, I had completely forgotten this item. I know, however, that I was a great admirer of Meagher; and if there is anything in the records of oratory more calculated to please the ear and capture the imagination than his famous Sword Speech, I would like to make its acquaintance. Dr. C. P. Curran in his chapter 'Memories of University College'—contributed to Dr. Tierney's centenary volume *Struggle with Fortune*—has dealt in inimitable fashion with some of the outstanding personalities in the College during his student days. He has kindly given me permission to quote therefrom; and I have selected a few sentences which epitomise his views and which express, with a much more nimble pen than I can hope to wield, what I would like to say. He writes: 'Tom Kettle and James Joyce were the two men of genius in my period', and, as regards Kettle, 'His was the most brilliant intelligence of his generation, and he had the most widely stretched and vigorously exercised mind of our student group. . . . All his studies were focussed on contemporary politics and they covered a great field—sociology, history, law and literature. They provided rich, sudden reinforcement

to his passionate eloquence and a weight of metal that lent singular driving power to the shafts of his eloquence.'

He deals with Joyce as follows: 'Joyce was wholly indifferent to questions which excited the general body of the students and this lent him a false appearance of arrogance. His conclusions were oracular, crisply expressed and admitted of little debate; but his aloofness implied no discourtesy, or personal antagonism. There was, on the contrary, a great deal of mutual respect.' Dr. Curran has this to say of Skeffington: 'No one agreed with him, but we all loved him for his courage, his Cato-like intransigence and his unquenchable good humour'. And finally, he writes of Arthur Clery: 'His mind was formed in the classics, his manner graceful and suave, his speech polished in the temper of his favourite eighteenth century. His sentences fell in impeccable cadence, and he had a pleasing gift of epigram.'

Others whom Dr. Curran has singled out for special mention are John M. O'Sullivan (afterwards Minister for Education), George Clancy (murdered by the Black and Tans when he was Mayor of Limerick), and Dr. Tom Madden of Kiltimagh.

Strangely enough George Clancy did not speak at our debates and Dr. Madden very seldom—if at all. Indeed Dr. Curran himself, though a fairly regular attendant, was very rarely heard; and I have never been able to understand why so gifted and versatile a man was not more often propelled to his feet in the Physics Theatre. John F. Byrne—one of the most talented and interesting students of my period and the author of that excellent book *Silent Years*—was another absentee, and again I wonder why as I heard him one night—during the row with the R.U.I. Senate over the organ incident—address a large body of students at Cecilia Street and he did so with fervid eloquence.

The flamboyant oratory which was so popular with the 'Eloquent Dempseys' of the previous generation was noticeably at a discount at our meetings. Louis J. Walsh, however, was not afraid to act, as well as speak, his part. He was a very fluent speaker; and with appropriate gesture, flashing eye and the ringing accent of north Ulster, he added that little touch of blarney to his words that wins the cheers of the crowd and the votes of the electors.

I think that it is high time that I called a halt to the 'moving finger' and gave my pen a rest. But there are two other figures of that day to whom I should like to allude. Father Darlington, S.J., was then one of the most interesting of College personalities. The best light to his character that I remember was shown by his dealings with the Chess Club. The Chess Club, of which the leading members were Professor Magennis, Patrick J. Merriman, John Hooper, John F. Byrne and Sheehy Skeffington, required a special room in the College for their games, and to secure Father Darlington's consent, they elected him as President of the Club.

As the members suspected that Father Darlington did not quite approve, although he did not openly oppose, the playing of games to a fairly late hour in the precincts of 86, they decided to pacify him still more by allowing him to win his games. He was apparently a very poor chess player; for no matter how hard the members tried, they could not make him win. The Club did not live very long and, after it had ceased to function, one of the members discovered that its President was in fact an excellent chess player and that, seeing through the rather obvious moves of his opponents to make him win, he thoroughly enjoyed the fun of adopting more subtle tactics to make certain that he lost. This may not be true; but it would certainly be in keeping with the mysterious and delightful character of Father Darlington.

Rory O'Connor was also a member of the Society. He spoke on a few occasions at its debates, and supported the President in the row in 1906. Rory was also a member of the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L. William Fallon and I were close friends of his and we played many games of bridge together in his father's house. Rory was a quiet, gentle soul, a lovable companion but physically very frail; and, like many of us in Ireland, he had trouble with his lungs. For reasons of health he had to leave Ireland in or about the year 1910, and I attended the farewell dinner which many of his old College friends gave him in the Dolphin Hotel on the eve of his departure to Canada.

He returned to Ireland in 1914 in order to join the British

Army. Meeting William Fallon in Grafton Street, he exclaimed 'How is it that you are not in khaki?' Fallon replied that he did not consider that it was Ireland's war and that he did not intend to join up. 'Anyway,' he added, 'there's a queer taste about a few things—one is the hold-up on Home Rule and another is that the Union Jack business everywhere is being overdone.' 'Oh, no,' said Rory, 'I think the Union Jacks are all right.'

He met Fallon again in 1917 during Count Plunkett's by-election in Roscommon and invited him to join the I.R.A. 'But, Rory,' replied Fallon, 'the last time we met you advised me to join the British Army.' 'Yes, Willie,' was Rory's rejoinder, 'You were right then and I was wrong, but now you are wrong and I am right.'

All this rather goes to show that it is not always easy to say who is right or who is wrong, or how, or when, or where. The tragic end of Rory O'Connor was one of the many grievous calamities of the Civil War. May his gentle soul rest in eternal peace!

I will conclude with a few words of very sincere thanks to the L. & H. I made my maiden speech in the Physics Theatre, and, as often happens, the occasion was too much for my nerves and I broke down hopelessly. I remember how kind James Joyce was to me that night. As we left the Theatre he took me by the arm and said: 'Eugene, you have gone up a lot in my estimation.' Shy and sensitive himself, he did not like the hard-boiled type of youth; and so paid me the high compliment of seeing in me a somewhat kindred soul. I shed my nervousness in subsequent debates and spoke very often and I hope sometimes to the point. I know of no finer education than that to be had from contact with men of ability, learning and culture. Our little Parliament—as Cruise O'Brien so well described it—afforded me this great privilege. It enabled me to hear the views, and cultivate the friendship, of many men who in after years won high place and honour in their native country. For this I owe the Society a deep debt of gratitude.

V.—PATRICK LITTLE

I CAME TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE IN 1903, the same year as Cruise O'Brien and Mangan. Gerald O'Byrne was one year ahead of us. Tom Bacon and the Sheehys were our seniors by some years. Newman's *Idea of a University* had been on the Senior Intermediate course in our time and had a revolutionary effect on us. The idea of serious discussions arising from contact with different faculties in the very free atmosphere of a University Club appealed to us very strongly. We knew well that by coming to University College we were making a big sacrifice where Trinity had such prestige and the common life of a residential University. It intensified our national feelings, although none of us were very ardent Gaelic Leaguers, yet the language movement and the weekly journal *The Leader* reinforced our thinking. At this time the Irish Party and the *Freeman's Journal* were the main political strength of the country as a whole.

From the start of our Matric. we were all serious to give ourselves a 'liberal education' on national lines and we must have been a bit of a nuisance to our teachers. In the frustrated atmosphere of restlessness we were very critical of the *status quo*. We got Father Delany to institute a series of lectures on Natural Theology, which were followed by a series on Modernism by Father Tom Finlay. Many indeed of the more thoughtful students felt the great need of adequate answers to current philosophical and theological problems. Otherwise we felt the atmosphere of the College was like that of a cramming institution nearby, so we contemned, to our subsequent cost, exams.

O'Byrne and Mangan worked steadily for the British first class Civil Service. O'Byrne ultimately went to India and Mangan to Somerset House. Cruise and myself inevitably ended up in journalism. Gerald O'Byrne talked of the German movement of the Romantic period called the *Sturm und Drang*, and we felt all this in our own atmosphere. I have no very clear recollections of the L. & H., except that it and the magazine *St. Stephen's*, were the platforms for venting our ideas and bringing us into contact with the older men.

Cruise O'Brien came to the College, a frail figure with long black hair and a mature mind full of interesting and often unorthodox ideas. He was widely read and had already studied Sanscrit and comparative philology. He became a student of Professor Hogan, the Irish scholar, and he helped on his publication of *Onomasticon*. He and his sister lived alone (both their parents were dead) in Leeson Street, near Morehampton Road. Cruise was a Richmond Street boy, with a brilliant Intermediate record. Timothy Mangan from Tralee—a Blackrock boy with a record in classics—was in many ways the shrewdest and most clearminded. In the row when Cruise was rusticated, Timothy was just as uncompromising, but he made no mistakes and could not be rusticated. Cruise had made the error of calling Father Delany an old Whig.

I was with the group that went on to the organ platform and stopped the playing of *God Save the King*. I remember a very earnest objector lifting a large black tin box to throw it at Tom Madden. I also remember Tom standing on top of a cab afterwards, making a speech, and the police moving the cab suddenly, with calamity for Tom who had one stiff leg.

The actual protest at the conferring was carried out with great good order. The conferring was not greatly disturbed by the usual interruptions; these were deliberately discouraged, but at a given signal we all descended from the back gallery of the big hall and passed through a covered-in passage that emerged at the side or back of the platform and we just all stood there and did not allow the unfortunate organist to play the anthem. We were all proud of our achievement and believed that we did stir the British politicians into speeding up the long delayed measure of establishing the National University. Afterwards I intensely disliked the 'Rags' at conferring as disorderly and unintelligent and as a degrading caricature of our own conduct.

The university question was a very live one in our domestic College life because there was a definite conflict between Father Delany and the College authorities with the Nationalist Party headed by John Dillon and strongly supported by the Cecilia Street Medical School. The appointment of Dr. Coffey indicated where the greater influence operated. Indeed, Father

Delany remarked that he feared it would prove to be an 'Apothecary's Hall'.

Dr. Coffey had been marked down long before as the man to organise the new University whenever it should come. I knew him when I was very young as an extremely earnest young man who never smiled, and I know that apart from his medical work he travelled widely in Europe and studied the various university systems. He was thus well equipped for his responsibilities when he was appointed the first President of the College in Dublin. He was always friendly to our efforts, as indeed was Dr. E. P. McLoughlin. In the journal of the College, *St. Stephen's*, we emphasised the importance of the Medical School and we had in O'Connell Sullivan, who was a demonstrator in Cecilia Street, a very able contributor to the journal and a very witty writer of amusing verse.

When I became manager of the paper, I gave an order to Sealy, Bryers & Walker, the printers, to remove the ornamental medallion of the coat of arms of the College from the cover of the paper. The good printer was alarmed and made contact with the College authorities. The authorities sent for Cruise and myself, and, before meeting Father Delany, we arranged a line of 'compromise'. We were to oppose putting back the College coat of arms on the cover on the grounds that it gave the journal a one-sided character by excluding the medical faculty, then we were to offer as a compromise the putting on the coat of arms of the Medical School as well as that of the College, and on that basis agreement was reached.

Reference should be made to the constitution or charter of autonomy granted to the journal during the period of Tom Kettle's editorship—it was this freedom which made it possible to pursue the line of independent expression subsequently. It was the sense of a domineering Unionism, as the influence frustrating the younger generation who had chosen deliberately to make their careers in Ireland, that was the driving force of the generation. *St. Stephen's* did show a vital interest in student life and in doing so could not escape the expression of Irish nationalism.

The national view naturally expressed itself in attacks on

people like the Earl of Meath and Sir James Creed Meredith, who was the Protestant and Unionist joint-secretary of the old Royal University. For students he was coupled with the *Irish Times* as the head and front of Unionist offending. These attacks were apparently too strong meat for the College authorities and were regarded as impugning authority and, I suppose, as getting too much into politics, and so *St. Stephen's* was suppressed, about the same time as the rustication of Cruise O'Brien. At the time feeling ran pretty high and after the suppression of the old Literary and Historical, or shall we say its exile outside the College, and the establishment of a new Society by the College authorities, relations were definitely severed. I refused to accept the silver medal from the hands of the new Society. It had been conferred on me by the older body.

I mentioned the inspiration we had derived from Newman's *Idea of a University*. For quite a time the idea of a University Club, affording a certain amount of common life, hung fire, but at last it took shape and found premises in No. 12 Dawson Street, where E. J. Little gave us premises without rent and the caretaker, Mrs. Clarke, looked after our needs. I should mention here, too, that James Bayley-Butler became a very helpful and loyal member of the Club. It became a substitute for the L. & H. and a centre of wider activities subsequently. It was used by the Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L. at times and especially on one famous occasion for a meeting with Joe Devlin, the night before the famous National Convention when Cruise O'Brien and Sheehy Skeffington spoke as representatives of the Y.I.B., urging the Irish Party to concentrate on the Home Rule demand to the subordination of minor issues. The club was also the centre from which the campaign for 'essential Irish' was organised, with a big meeting in the Mansion House where Douglas Hyde was the chief speaker. Influence was brought to bear on the County Councils, who in turn brought influence on the authorities, and Irish was made an essential subject for entrance to the University.

Among the Professors at that time, Professor Magennis was one of the most influential. He certainly helped some

generations of students to think independently. I should say that John Marcus O'Sullivan and Tom Kettle owed much to his teaching. In our time he was both an inspiration and a restraining influence. On one occasion, when feeling ran high, he gave us a lecture on Edmund Burke's ideas with the headline *Il ne faut pas réformer tout*. This had a very salutary effect on us at the time. He and Professor Corcoran had the most national influence in the College at that time.

It was a natural progression for young university people to take an active interest in the national movement of the time and so the group of that generation passed on from the old L. & H. to the University or 'Newman' Club, into the Y.I.B. and from that ultimately into the larger national movement. Personally I arrived there through the columns and later the editorship of the weekly journal, *New Ireland*, which continued under various names from 1915 to 1922.

VI.—W. G. FALLON

TO LIVE AGAIN the ways and thoughts of one's predecessors in the L. & H. demands a considerable exercise of the imagination. When viewing, say, a Gothic cathedral, Emerson held that we should apply ourselves to the story of its production and put ourselves into the place of the builder. Thus we become our own predecessors, replacing the 'then and there' by the 'here and now'. So too in the case of the L. & H. A failure to reconstruct at least an outline of the environment in which past members moved and had their being would obscure the contrast between 'then' and 'now'. For the moment, it will suffice to recall that during the fading years of the last, and the opening years of the present, century the Society looked out on a city of numerous heroic souls, sturdy survivors of the testing Victorian régime. That Dublin, however, was barely resisting decay, providing ample accommodation for most of James Joyce's personnel, and was provincialised as befitted the capital of a thinly-veiled Crown Colony. As for the College, it had no paraphernalia, recreation

grounds or extras other than a ball-alley, the bones of a Choral Union and the L. & H.

The transformation within a life-span has been astonishing, spectacular, and perhaps unexampled. Present-day members of the Society may be excused if they hesitate to give unquestioning credence to the flashback. Yet they are among the beneficial legatees. Their perspective, however, would slip out of focus by any unguarded acceptance of the popular notion that the reintegration of Twenty-Six County Ireland began as the outcome of the Anglo-Irish War. Twenty years earlier will be historically more accurate.

Something else in the material and social order yet remains for mention; it affected the everyday life of the student-body of fifty odd years ago, although, until the relevancy is seen, to swing abruptly away from 86 and its homely corridors and Physics Theatre to Land Purchase and Local Government affairs must to modern eyes seem to be straining after effect and far-fetched. During the years of the Society's eclipse Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill (1893), had gone the way of its predecessor and, in the temper and unhappy distractions of the times, with it went any hope of a University Bill to mend or end the Royal University. In 1898, however, the Local Government Bill found its way into the Statute Book. A forthright and salutary result was the liquidation of the Grand Juries of the ascendancy elements and for the first time local government was put on a representative basis. Thereafter, the College began to be peopled with students whose fathers had assumed the administration of county, borough and regional affairs. That Act, too, sponsored though it was by an anti-Home Rule Government, inadvertently contributed to the re-union of the Irish Parliamentarians in 1900 and to fruitful years ahead. The 'Wyndham' Land Purchase Act followed (1903), involving the relatively huge sum of one hundred and twelve millions and, though less radical, the Town Tenants' Act (1906). The united effect of the three measures was calculated to bring about, as in fact it did, an epochal transformation in the economic and social status of Irish Catholicism and accordingly in the student-

circumstances and climate of Dublin. The demand for a University gained strength and then became peremptory.

A very popular diversion for a quota of the members of the L. & H. was the Gaelic League founded, *inter alios*, by Douglas Hyde, John MacNeill and Father Eugene O'Growney (Maynooth College), during the period of the Society's eclipse. The League had superseded a succession of academic but unpromising Irish Language Conclaves and at the turn of the century had attracted a noticeable measure of popularity. By 1902 upwards of four hundred classes had been registered, and within the sheltered confines and rented rooms of the Dublin branches the L. & H. was at liberty to alternate between acquiring the blas of *Cia caoi bhfuil tú?* and disciplining the intricacies of Irish Reels. In those elementary classes were to be seen National School teachers, usually in charge, their political ideologies wholly released inside the rooms, in association with quite a formidable tally of native-born civil servants who had, of necessity, to find somewhere an outlet for their bureaucratised energies. An unfailing visitor to the language classes was the handsome Hon. William Gibson (later Lord Ashbourne), invariably in kilts. Another was E. E. Fournier d'Albe, Celticist and Esperantist, similarly attired.

Early on, Father O'Growney had commenced to publish *Simple Lessons in Irish*. By 1900 Part I of his series at three-pence per copy—and no material reward for the neophytes—had touched its thirtieth thousand. A few years later the fortieth edition or reprint was in the book shops. In the same way Part II constantly ran out of stock. It was not an occasion for surprise, therefore, whenever members of the L. & H. passed inwards through the doubled doorway of the Old Physics Theatre with booklets peeping from jacket-pockets. Such members came to be known as 'The O'Growneyites'. In that group were Tom Kettle, Arthur Clery, John P. Doyle, Michael Waldron, and George Clancy (twenty years later Mayor of Limerick and a victim of the 'Black-and-Tans'). Others too could be named. Nevertheless, Kettle had misgivings. 'Here we are,' he mused, 'learning Irish on the threshold of becoming accomplished speakers of English.'

The Society was repeatedly cautioned against excursions into the field of domestic politics, even after the closing of the 'Parnellite Split' in 1900. The advice was at times adroitly ignored, especially as the members held that 'Home Rule' was not at all concerned with party politics or even politics, but very much with 'Nationalities' or, as some would have it, 'Nationics', coined words that still await admission to the Oxford Dictionary. On the other hand, papers and debates on the most acceptable type of University for Ireland were encouraged, and in fact between 1900 and 1906, as already related, as many as three auditorial addresses were allotted to the subject besides debates stretching back over a series of sessions.

Reverting to the messages verbally conveyed to the L. & H., counselling a self-imposed restraint in the handling of political or domestic issues—because a mere recital of British misdeeds in Ireland could provoke a variety of remedies, practical or fanciful, and end in exciting exchanges—it is simple justice to remember that from the first year the Jesuits accepted responsibility for the maintenance of the College—approximately two decades then ago—their guardianship at times called for manoeuvres of a high order; for the College was labelled 'Catholic' and many of us were still the sons of short-termed farmers or modest businessmen. The measure of influence, therefore, of Nationalists in the *milieu* of Universities was all but negligible. Moreover, the Jesuits—and indeed the L. & H.—were aware that Arthur Balfour quite inconsistently favoured the idea of an Irish University suitable for Catholics. The dilemma was obvious. Then, too, around the fringe of 86 swam a nebula of students whose elders leaned on the Vice-royalty for their social advancement. They were 'Castle Catholics' (maliciously drawled). That cross-section, however, only manifested itself on occasions, such as at the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, when Court mourning was *de rigueur* in Grafton Street, or when at the public funeral of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy in 1903, the members marched as a body while the delinquents had engagements elsewhere! It was the way of the world in those times, but harsh comments were withheld.

In fine, the burden of the Jesuits at 86 was real and, bearing in mind their financial responsibilities, deeply appreciated, although, as the years passed, there was some room for divergence of opinion among graduates on the relationship that ought to subsist between the authorities of the College and the L. & H.

The first indication of the national revival was the publication in 1900 of the *Dublin Leader*, a weekly review, owned and edited by D. P. Moran, a realist in journalism, whose flair for ridiculing the assumed superiority of the ruling classes quickly caught the public imagination. Nor did he spare national 'sunburstery' whether in platform oratory, newspapers, or elsewhere. But he was no cynic, and the circulation of his paper became widespread. He accepted the re-united Irish Parliamentarians without undue elation but had little use for Arthur Griffith's ideals in *The United Irishman*, or indeed for what he called 'the Celtic Twilights' of the poets. In search of new talent and fresh minds, Mr. Moran, on the advice of Father T. Finlay, S.J., sought the members of the L. & H., and among his earliest contributors were William Dawson ('Avis') and Arthur Clery ('Chanel'). Others, such as Michael Waldron and Cruise O'Brien, followed suit at later stages. Apart from the daily newspapers, *The Leader* was the only publication to which the Society sent its advertisements.

Sinn Fein was still far below the horizon and the next political move unexpectedly came from the Southern Irish Unionists. It was 'Devolution' in 1903.

'Devolution', now forgotten, was an intriguing but short-lived sideline for the L. & H. Encouraged by the implementation of the Local Government Act, although it had entailed their forfeiture of all direct control of local administration, and relieved by the general acceptance of their Land Purchase scheme, the Irish allies of the coercionists had called a halt and the landlords floated the 'Irish Reform Association', accompanied by 'Devolution'. An inducement to moderate British Conservatives at their wearying game of party-politics was that, if supported, the plan could put an end to the Liberal Party's monopoly of the Irish vote. The names of Lord Dunraven and Captain Shawe-Taylor were on the title-page. It transpired

somehow that Wyndham (Unionist Chief Secretary and direct descendant of Lord Edward Fitzgerald) was behind the scenes with the connivance of Edward VII, Lord Dudley (the Viceroy), and even Balfour. L. & H. members were in strength at the inaugural meeting of the Solicitors Apprentices' Society in 1904, for 'Devolution' was the topic with Shawe-Taylor and T. W. Russell as two of the guest speakers.

Individual members of the L. & H. were free to form their own opinions on the pros and cons of 'Devolution' for no meeting was assigned for debating the scheme save passing references in Richard Sheehy's inaugural in 1904¹. Admittedly, 'Devolution' or 'Dunravenism' was, as the Auditor of the Solicitors Apprentices' Society suggested, 'to Local Government more than kin and to Home Rule less than kind'; but if, as Devolutionists whispered, their plan would be only 'the first instalment', then it might be the shortest way home. At any rate, Orange drums presently disturbed the would-be reformers, frightened Wyndham and overawed Balfour. The British Prime Minister had little hesitation and less conscience in disowning Wyndham.

The Sinn Fein policy in its earliest phase was inspired by Griffith's *Resurrection of Hungary*, published in 1904. The booklet told the story of the reintegration of the Kingdom of the Magyars and how Hungary from being in a state of subjection became a partner in the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. A vital manoeuvre in that rebellion had been refusal to recognise the Parliament in Vienna and to establish a government of their own. Sinn Fein, therefore, proposed to make use of the Local Government Act, to which reference has already been made, by converting the General Council of County Councils into 'the nucleus of a national authority'. It followed that service by Irishmen in the British Parliament would be treasonable. Notice, however, was only taken of two subsidiary aims of Sinn Fein—the Irish language and home-manufactured goods—in which the people's interest had already been secured. Nevertheless, Griffith's writings on Hungary were extensively

¹ An article on Devolution by James Fitzgerald-Kenney appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for April 1905.

studied by the members of the L. & H., and at their request Kettle delivered an address on *The Hungarian Policy* in the *Aula Maxima* in December 1904. Only Kettle, then a graduate of two years' standing, with his refined sense of humour and supreme qualifications, could deliver an address on such a controversial subject without giving offence. Griffith himself was in the audience on Kettle's invitation.

Sinn Fein was one answer to the timid 'Devolutionists': the Young Ireland Branch ('The Yibs') of the United Irish League was another. The League was the official organ of the reunited Irish Parliamentary Party. The Yibs differed from Sinn Fein principally on the question of parliamentary activity: they rejected the theory of abstention and its implications. They were undiluted if unorthodox supporters of the Redmond-Dillon-Devlin party. Their view, however, was that the Nationalist M.P.s should concentrate on the Home Rule issue to the exclusion of all other ameliorative measures, not even excepting—unless in unforeseen circumstances—the long-awaited University Bill.

Kettle was the natural leader. He and another L. & H. man had already appeared on public platforms. Wherever he went many members were willing to follow. But there was ultimate agreement that it would be a mistake on the part of the more ardent politicians, no matter how decisively they might reflect the general viewpoint, to seek accommodation within the walls of the College.

Early members included Sheehy Skeffington, John Marcus O'Sullivan, J. Hutchinson, Eugene and Richard Sheehy, Michael Waldron, Louis Walsh (in later years a District Justice), Cruise O'Brien, Hector Hughes (now a British Labour M.P.), J. McDonnell, W. Lloyd, Michael O'Dempsey (Wexford), and Edward Kelly (afterwards a Nationalist M.P.). Rory O'Connor, who forfeited his life in 1922, joined shortly after he had become a member of the L. & H., and every year three or four members trickled in from the Society. P. H. Pearse attended a number of meetings though not a subscriber; but for that matter the platform was an open forum.

The Yibs had been functioning for a year or more when

Kettle's classic address on *The Philosophy of Politics* attracted a remarkable audience to the Mansion House. It had been timed for delivery immediately after the huge Liberal electoral victory of January 1906, and it was common knowledge that the intention of the Prime Minister was to introduce a Bill much below expectations. But in Kettle's view even 'a comprehensive measure of Home Rule' might not be regarded as a 'final' settlement. 'Life', he said, 'is growth; growth is change. It may have bivouacs but no barracks.'

Kettle became an M.P. in the same year as the result of a by-election in the constituency of East Tyrone. Prior to election-day the meticulously-checked register of voters revealed that he was in an insurmountable minority. Yet he defeated his Unionist opponent by eighteen votes. It was calculated that non-Catholic Unionists to the number of three or four hundred had secretly cast their votes in his favour.

The duly-heralded Irish Councils Bill arrived in 1907. It was little more than an elaboration of the previous 'Devolution' scheme, but Campbell-Bannerman apologetically described it as 'the step-by-step policy'. A National Convention of upwards of two thousand delegates was convened. The Yibs were allotted their quota of admission-tickets but were also informed that on account of their non-parochial membership, an excess would be made available if so requested. As a result, several members of the L. & H. attended their first National Convention. The leaders of the Irish Parliamentarians were grievously disappointed with the limitations of the Bill but hesitated to reject it. The Yibs were divided. The Convention, however, dismissed it with defiant cheers. It was withdrawn.

The first duel between Sinn Fein and the United Irish League was in February 1908, on the occasion of a by-election in County Leitrim. Sinn Fein had put a candidate in the field. By way of reply John Dillon invited the Yibs to accept the challenge and address a series of meetings in the constituency. A team drawn from the L. & H. members of the Branch undertook the task. The 'Sinn Feiner', although an attractive candidate, suffered a severe defeat. Both Dillon and Joseph Devlin sent congratulatory messages to the Yibs.

In the same year the introduction of *A Bill to make further provision with respect to University Education in Ireland*, was the last incident of note to fall within the period prescribed for this chapter. Another National Convention was summoned and once more all the delegates from the Yibs were members of the L. & H. It is unnecessary to record that the vote in favour of the measure was unanimous, although regretful mention was made of the failure of the Archbishop Walsh—Chief Baron Palles scheme. The interest of the delegates was fully sustained by a motion, the substance of which was that Irish should be obligatory for the matriculation examination. It was backed by Douglas Hyde and John P. Boland, M.P. for South Kerry. The chairman, John Redmond, had an open mind, while his brother, W. H. K. Redmond and a number of M.P.s supported the motion, but Messrs. Dillon and Devlin disliked compulsion in any subject for entrance examinations to a University. It was a free vote, and the Convention divided. So did the L. & H. men, thereby cancelling their own votes! The 'Ayes' had it, and in 1910 the Senate of the University gave effect to the decision.

VII.—THOMAS BODKIN

AT THE CREST OF THE WAVE in the Society's history, in 1905, the year of its Golden Jubilee, I became a member. There was no celebration of that Jubilee. No one seemed to notice it. But the Society was very much alive, going through a period of more intense activity than, I think, it ever enjoyed before or since. The events of that and the next year seem to have coloured all its subsequent history. When I joined in the Michaelmas term I did not come as a friendless stranger, for with me there entered a group of fellow-Clongownians among whom the most notable were Maurice Healy, Michael McGilligan and Joseph Brennan. We had all been contestants for a couple of years past in the Clongowes Higher Line Debate.

Maurice and myself in particular were old antagonists. Our rivalry was to continue for more than thirty years. I had

succeeded in winning the Clongowes medal in 1903, while in the class of Poetry. He left school without it, but won the gold medal for Oratory in the Society in 1906, the year before I did, and defeated me for the auditorship in 1907. I won, in 1911, the O'Hagan gold medal for Oratory in the Law Students' Debating Society and was elected to the auditorship of that Society which he never held. Many years afterwards our old school-fellow John Bourke, a leading barrister in Birmingham and Recorder of Ludlow, invited us, then elderly men, to speak at a dinner of the Edgbaston Debating Society. He held out to each of us, as an attraction, the possible presence of the other. We both replied accepting the invitation on the condition that we were given the last word. As we sat to table John Bourke read out our letters and tossed for which of us should take precedence. The last word and the final round of our long contest was won by Maurice.

When we first joined the Literary and Historical, we found that a good deal of tension existed between it and the College authorities, because several prominent members had participated enthusiastically in the scene created at the conferring of degrees in that October when they had prevented the playing of *God Save the King*. This tension culminated in the inaugural meeting of 1905, at which I was present and which I would like to describe for I found it hilarious and disorderly in extreme and delightful degrees. But it has been dealt with elsewhere.

The first ordinary meeting of the Society took place about a fortnight afterwards with the Auditor in the chair. The topic debated was: *That it is not for the advantage of a nation that its women should be educated on exactly the same lines as its men*. The minutes record 'The meeting was of unusually large dimensions and the number of maiden speakers was very large'. At the third meeting Michael McGilligan and Aedan Cox, an old friend of mine from Belvedere days, first took part in the Society's deliberations.

Thanks to the skilful and kindly chairmanship of Tom Bacon the session went well, and the first faint sign of friction only appeared on May 12th when Gerald O'Byrne gave notice of motion concerning the eligibility of ladies for membership.

At the final meeting of the year Francis Cruise O'Brien, hereafter to be known familiarly and affectionately as 'Crusoe', was elected Auditor with a committee composed of Gerald O'Byrne, Tom Bacon, Paddy Little, now Chairman of the Arts Council, Tim Mangan, Maurice Healy, Aedan Cox and myself.

In October I resigned from the committee, as I had persuaded my father to send me for a while to live in Paris. Consequently I missed the great and famous row which disrupted the Society for nearly two years. I was fully informed through letters from my many friends in the Society of what was afoot and was eager to return to Dublin to take part in the fray, though I had enjoyed an extraordinarily pleasant stay in Paris learning a little French, looking at a lot of pictures and doing nothing that could be properly called 'work'. I was back in time to attend the first meeting held in January 1907.

Early in February an extraordinary general meeting was held to select delegates to be sent to Edinburgh and to Queen's College, Galway, on inter-debates. Aedan Cox and Frank McCormack went to Galway. William Dawson, Michael McGilligan and myself went to Edinburgh, where we were put up by Dr. Louis Cassidy, then a medical student, who had already been a master-mariner, afterwards practised with great distinction as a gynaecologist in Dublin, and was killed while hunting with the Ward. It had been decided in committee that the Edinburgh delegates were to be given £3.0.0. The delegates were to defray their own reasonable expenses but if any member was unable to do so the deficit was to be met out of the £3.0.0. This was not to be regarded as a precedent. We had a most exciting time. I do not know how we managed to do it on a total of £3.0.0. Presumably our respective relatives came to our assistance; and Scottish hospitality was then, as it has since remained, exuberantly generous.

Soon after I had set myself to write this account, I received a letter from Gibraltar, written by that most distinguished laryngologist, Dr. Robert Scot Stevenson. I had just published, in the *Birmingham Post*, a review of his brilliant recent book *In Search of Spanish Painting*. He wrote to thank me and

enclosed a page of a magazine, dated March 1st, 1907, which he said he had just come across among his papers; and thought it might interest me. It did, indeed: for it was his own report, in the Edinburgh *The Student*, of the debate between the Scots and Irish on Home Rule. He had also copiously illustrated his text with very amusing caricatures of the participants, including ones of William Dawson, Michael McGilligan and myself. I quote it, 'so that history may be cleanly written'.

Through his speech Mr. Dawson (*The Proime Minister*, Bedad!) used no notes, but an excellent speech was somewhat marred by too conversational a delivery. The Premier leaned upon the dispatch box with hands clasped before his face as if at a *prie-dieu*, and the House grew undeservedly lethargic. . . . Mr. Thomas Bodkin (*The Mimber for Waterford*) rose with rich and delightful brogue. He tried to undermine the Scotsmen's hearts by asserting that he 'thrilled with pride over defeats by Wallace and Bruce over the South'. He would 'change Union of handcuffs for union of hearts' by giving Home Rule 'not as a favour but as a roight'. A good speech, welcomed by the audience. Mr. Michael McGilligan (*The President av the Boord av Agriculchure*) next delivered a beautifully worded speech, which seemed rather recitative, though he certainly did not refer to paper. It was a charming thing to hear, more for sentiment than for argument.

The rest of the session was lively and successful, in particular the debates held during the month of April. On the 13th, J. J. O'Connell, a solicitor's idle apprentice, afterwards a distinguished general in the army of the Irish Free State, read a memorable paper entitled *Great Military Commanders of the Present Day*. A week later, Edmund Benedict Slattery of Tralee, a friend of Maurice Healy and myself at Clongowes, read a paper on *Reafforestation in Ireland*, which he planned to illustrate with a practical demonstration of his theories. He had prepared two large flower-pots, in one of which was a growing shrub, in the other nothing but soil. At a given moment in his address he purported to pour water into both in order to show that the roots of the plant ensured that the water would flow from the base of its pot in a clear thin stream, whereas the soil in the other pot would disintegrate and gush forth in a torrent of mud. We got hold of both pots before his arrival and doctored

them so effectively that the subsequent demonstration brought down the tumultuous applause of a full House, though it greatly disconcerted the orator of the evening. I am puzzled by an extract from a later minute recording the passing of a motion proposed by Maurice Healy and seconded by J. J. O'Connell to the effect: *That the Society condemns all chicanery in its transactions.*

Despite my long absence at the beginning of the session, I had the audacity to stand for the auditorship against Maurice Healy who was proposed by Tom Bacon and seconded by Michael McGilligan: and I was very properly defeated by thirty-six votes to twenty-eight. Maurice's inaugural address was delivered on November 7th, 1907. Its title was *The Irish Exodus*. The two chief speakers were the Most Reverend Dr. O'Donnell, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and the Right Honourable Augustine Birrell, who was then the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The meeting was a great success; but when the Society settled down to its normal work, Crusoe reappeared and moved the adjournment of the House to consider certain statements made by Mr. Healy in correspondence with Mr. O'Byrne. This was duly rejected. A week or two later the Society turned once more to the vexed question of the admission of women and a resolution was moved to amend the rules to read: *That whenever the word 'students' occurs in the rules it shall be interpreted to mean both male and female students.* O'Connell, Maguire, McGilligan, Nolan and Slattery supported the motion. Against it were Keane, Ronayne, Maloney, O'Brien and Molloy. It was carried by sixteen to twelve. I must have been absent on that occasion, for I certainly should have spoken against it.

At a meeting in November I read a paper, with Dr. Cox in the chair, on *G. B. Shaw as a Dramatist*. Crusoe provided most of the interest on that occasion and moved a further motion to censure the Auditor for making defamatory statements about himself and Mr. P. J. Little. This motion was again defeated.

At a later meeting in which a motion was brought forward to reverse the decision to admit women, I managed to occupy the chair, though I do not now recollect how that was arranged.

The minutes, usually very reticent, record that 'Bodkin in summing up said he was against having women in the Society', and that the motion was lost by thirteen and three-quarter votes to eleven, an enigmatic result which was corrected on a recount to sixteen to eleven. A little while later a letter arrived from Father Delany refusing to sanction the admission of women into the Society. This, I fancy, caused a motion of censure on the committee to be moved at the next meeting by Molloy, supported by O'Connell, Duggan, Keane and Fullerton, now Father Fullerton of the Oratory, Birmingham. It was carried by seventeen votes to fourteen, but lost under a rule which prescribed that there should be a two-thirds majority for such a motion.

The next meeting appointed a deputation consisting of Maurice Healy, J. A. Ronayne, Michael McGilligan and J. J. Molloy to remonstrate with the President about his decision. They reported that he stated that he had acted as President of the College and not as President of the Society. A motion, proposed by Bergin and seconded by Duggan: *That the Literary and Historical Society, being a College Organisation and holding its meetings within the walls, is subject to such rules as the governing authorities may from time to time determine to be necessary for the preservation, discipline and welfare of the College generally*, was passed, somewhat surprisingly, but with an amendment, proposed by Ronayne, to the effect *That the Society appeals to the College authorities, being the President and Council of the College, upon the question of the admission of ladies*.

At the final meeting of the session, on the proposal of Maurice Healy seconded by Michael McGilligan, I was elected Auditor unopposed. Crusoe attempted to propose Ronayne and was ruled out of order on the ground that although he had often spoken during the year, a ban by the President had operated against his formal membership of the Society.

My inaugural took place on the 5th November and was entitled: *Concerning Home Rule*. The President needed a certain amount of persuasion before he would agree to that topic. My speakers were the Attorney-General, R. Cherry; J. G. Swift MacNeill, M.P., Dr. Cox and James O'Connor, K.C., afterwards

Lord Justice O'Connor. I cannot remember anything that any of them said. It was probably pretty platitudinous as, indeed, was my address. But I recall vividly the presence on the platform of William Field, M.P., whom I had especially invited. He used to keep a small butcher's shop on the main street at Blackrock and found time to leave it continuously while he attended at Westminster 'to sit, vote and act with the Irish Parliamentary Party'. He was a nice old man, and I had many a pleasant talk with him as a small boy when my family spent the summer, as they often did, in Blackrock. His contributions to any debate consisted almost entirely of loud shouts of 'Hear, Hear', with which he punctuated, at regular intervals, the remarks of whichever orator might be in action.

The first ordinary meeting of the Society took place a couple of weeks later and was mainly remarkable for the maiden speech of J. A. Costello, the present Taoiseach, in a debate on the trite subject: *That the Pen is Mightier than the Sword*. Alec Maguire, now better known as Conor Maguire, the Chief Justice, Don Carroll, Bergin, Michael McGilligan, J. J. Nolan, George Maguire, J. R. Duggan and M. J. Dwyer also spoke. Tom Costello came forward again a week or two later with a motion: *That this House views with disfavour the conduct of Mr. Healy at the recent inaugural*, which was carried by twenty-six votes to twenty-four. I have not the slightest recollection of what that conduct can have been, yet two years later, after I had moved on to the Law Students' Debating Society, Michael McGilligan failed to carry a motion: *That the vote of censure on Mr. Healy be expunged from the minutes of the Society*. It was not until the 1st March, 1913, that Messrs. Binchy and C. A. Maguire moved successfully to expunge the motion of censure passed on Maurice Healy on December 5th, 1908.

The impending dissolution of the old Royal University and the establishment of the National University in its place unsettled, naturally, the Literary and Historical Society during my tenure of the auditorship. The University Bill was the direct responsibility of Augustine Birrell, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who, when he was introducing it, told the House of Commons that 'were it not for the hope of being able to deal

with the University question, nothing could induce me to make myself responsible for the Government of Ireland for a single week'. He said that he had received the invitation to office 'with dismay and amazement'. In this atmosphere, as might be expected, the Society concerned itself less with literary and historical questions than with questions of practical policies to be proposed or supported under the new dispensation. Many resolutions were brought forward dealing with the vexed question of what was called 'compulsory Irish in the National University'. I ruled them all out of order on the grounds that by Rule 2 of our constitution 'the work of the Society should consist of the reading and discussion of papers and the debating of subjects of general interest' though I only managed to maintain my authority as chairman by some narrow voting and was relieved when the President in February 1909 formally vetoed discussion of 'compulsory Irish'.

The question of the admission of women to membership of the Society was also raised continuously at committee and general meetings; and I had a great deal of difficulty in silencing or side-tracking the advocates of that disastrous proposition. Towards the end of the year a subtle motion was introduced: *That the aims and principles of the Suffragette Movement are worthy of approval*, against which Aedan Cox, Michael McGilligan and myself were the only speakers. We had, however, the satisfaction of seeing it lost, despite the advocacy of Alec Maguire and Michael Davitt, by nineteen votes to sixteen.

It was not till December 1910 that a resolution was carried *That in the opinion of this committee lady students of University College, Dublin, are eligible under existing rules for membership of the Society*. A few days later at a general meeting a resolution to the effect: *That in Rule 4(c) the word 'student' should be held to mean male student only*, supported by J. A. Costello and by Arthur Cox, was only lost by nineteen votes to seventeen. At the next meeting of the Society it is recorded that 'two women spoke at this meeting'. Their names deserve to be recorded. They were the Misses Plunkett and Deane. In the following week two also appeared, described as 'two lady speakers', the Misses Plunkett and Gavan Duffy. I had long

ceased to be an active member of the Society when the women invaded it; and I have only attended one meeting since that momentous change. The debate at that meeting, though it attracted a very large audience, was not conducted with the ability or the style of those in the old days of the Royal University. As happens in all societies of mixed membership, the men competed for the attention of the women and the women seemed very willing to provide distraction from serious business. None of those famous debating societies, the Unions of Oxford and Cambridge and the College Historical of Trinity College, has ever admitted women to their deliberations. Experience has shown that they are wise in that attitude. The present debates of the Literary and Historical may touch a higher standard than those prevalent fifty years ago. Yet I feel reasonably sure that the standard would be higher still were women persuaded to drop out of the Society or compelled to do so.

My year of office terminated with the election of Michael McGilligan as Auditor by forty-four votes to twenty-one for J. J. Doyle. I think that, owing to the change in régime, he never delivered an inaugural address; and I am sure that he was not in the least perturbed by being deprived of the opportunity to sun himself in public.

When I vacated the Auditor's chair I moved on to the Law Students' Society, though I still continued to attend meetings of the Literary and Historical, and to note with deep interest the rise to fame in its proceedings of J. A. Costello, Patrick McGilligan, George O'Brien and Arthur Cox. As Auditor of the Law Students' Debating Society I came back to University College on the 6th February, 1913, as one of a team to take part in an inter-debate. It consisted of Francis Sheridan, Charles Bewley, afterwards our Minister at the Vatican and in Berlin, T. A. Murphy and myself. We were opposed by Arthur Cox, George O'Brien, both now senators and much else besides, J. A. Costello, the Taoiseach, and Conor Maguire, the Chief Justice. Dr. Coffey, the President of University College and of the Society, was in the chair. The minutes do not record the result of the debate. In view of the subsequent distinction of the team representing the Society, I feel sure that

the Law Students cannot have been successful in contesting the motion: *That modern taste in literature is decadent.*

Looking back after a long interval on my days as a member of the Literary and Historical Society I do not think that the time I spent there was in any way wasted. Those hours, in fact, provided the best part of the education and entertainment which I got as a student at University College. Despite a great deal of fun we took the Society seriously. The papers read at the general meetings were very carefully prepared and adequately debated; and I can still call to mind such outstanding papers as those by William Keane, S.J., afterwards a famous rector of the Australian Jesuit College, Riversdale, on *Australian Poetry*, and *The Greeks, the Schoolmasters of Mankind*, by Thomas Arkins on *The Irish Parliament of 1776 to 1800*, by Conor Maguire on *The Poetry of Edgar Allan Poe* and by Aedan Cox on *Realism*. In those days about ten members customarily took part in the debates, which would last from eight o'clock till nearly eleven; but they were generally attended by visitors and members to the number of about a hundred. The paid-up membership entitling subscribers to a vote in the election for the auditorship and the committee was about eighty. Considering the small total membership, no society can have ever produced a bigger percentage of men who distinguished themselves greatly in later life.

The only sad memories for me in connection with the Society are those of my fellow members who died young before their great talents had found fitting opportunities. Foremost among these I place Ambrose Davoren who appeared a little after the time of my own activity and was killed in the first world war. He was a good looking youth, extraordinarily sympathetic, lively and imaginative, with a deep love for literature and a remarkable ability to express his thoughts in speech. Thomas Costello was another of the sort. Thomas Arkins, Gerald O'Byrne and Ronayne, had they not died young would have undoubtedly made names for themselves in the worlds of politics or administration: Gerald in the more orthodox manner, Ronayne as a highly skilful demagogue.

Looking over these notes I find that I have omitted a great

deal of matter which I would like to have put on record—had time and space been more copiously at my disposal. But, knowing that other papers are to be prepared by ancient members of the Society, many of them my own contemporaries, I can hope confidently that they will remedy all my deficiencies.

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Editor's Note.—The report of the deputation referred to by Doctor Bodkin, on page 107, reads as follows:—

In accordance with instructions received from the Society, a deputation consisting of the Auditor, (Maurice Healy), Messrs. McGilligan, Molloy, and Ronayne, on Friday, 7th inst., (February 1908), waited upon the President to put before him the views of the Society with regard to the veto exercised by him in connection with the interpretation of the word 'Student' in Rule 4 of the Constitution.

The deputation stated that the Society, basing its opinions on the Constitution, as amended in April last, and ratified by the President, submitted that the President had absolutely no right of veto with regard to the amendment of its Rules by the Society.

The case having been stated, the President proceeded to point out the great dangers which would result from the ladies being out late at night and having to cross the city on their return home. He also pointed out the gravity of the position of the male students, whose morality would be or might be jeopardised through intercourse with the lady students in the Literary and Historical Society, as well as the possibility of undesirable or unhappy marriages which such an arrangement would bring about.

The deputation having respectfully pointed out that the business of the interview was not the question of the admission of lady students into the Society, but that of the veto which the President had exercised. The President stated that he was head of the College, and that as such he had every right to interfere in important matters which directly concerned the College.

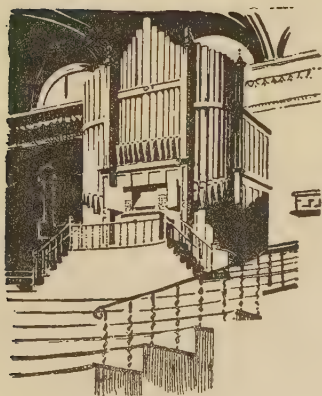
The deputation suggested that, seeing that the Society would

THE SOCIETY RESTORED

not be in a position to judge what the President considered an important matter (as had happened in the matter under discussion) the Constitution of the Society was a mere sham.

The President, in reply, denied this, stating that as President of the College, he exercised the veto in important matters relating to Collegiate discipline, but that as President of the Society he claimed none.

The deputation then withdrew.



Chapter III.

THE NEW COLLEGE (1908-1916)

The Irish Universities Act brought about a further re-organisation of the university system. The Royal University was dissolved and replaced by the National University of Ireland. In the new foundation, a College in Dublin which succeeded the Jesuit University College was joined with the existing Colleges in Cork and Galway. The new College grew rapidly. The number of students increased from 530 in 1909-10, its first year, to 1,017 in 1916.

The L. & H. made the transition without incident. Its proceedings, however, were inevitably influenced by the growth of the student body, which affected the attendance at its meetings, and by the strengthened claim of the lady students to membership. Its internal politics revolved around these matters.

These issues, however, did not excite as much speculation as the altered course of politics. The two General Elections of 1910 left the Irish Parliamentary Party in possession of the balance of power at Westminster. It seemed as if Home Rule lay within reach at last; and the third Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1912. It was a limited measure. The proposed Parliament in Dublin would have had no control over foreign policy and very little power over finance. It would have had no power to impose customs or excise duties; it would have possessed no armed forces. A later generation may wonder why the measure was so eagerly welcomed and so bitterly fought. It was a symbol, a reversal of the past and a hope for the future.

It was rejected by the House of Lords. It could not therefore, under the provisions of the then new Parliament Act, pass into law before the summer of 1914. In the meantime the Ulster Volunteers were formed in 1912; in reply, the Irish Volunteers were formed in 1913. The outbreak of war in August 1914

appeared to transform the situation. Home Rule was put on the Statute Book but its operation was suspended for the duration of hostilities, which then seemed to be a matter of months. Many Irishmen volunteered to serve in a war in which, as it then appeared, Ireland had both a moral and a material interest. These developments were to influence profoundly the lives of those who met on Saturday nights in 86.

I.—MICHAEL MCGILLIGAN

IT IS HARD FOR THE WRITER of an article of this rather personal kind not to appear as one wise in his own conceit, than whom, says Proverbs, there is no more hopeless fool. I have been purged by the minutes of the Society of such (considerable) conceit as I had in the soundness, untouched by senile decay, of my memory, and of the accuracy of my recollection in 1956 of 1906 and all that. In several instances where I would have 'taken my Bible oath', as the saying goes, a minute in my own handwriting warns me that I had better put the Bible aside before taking the oath. For the best part of half a century I have been under the impression that I helped to turn the tables on Maurice Healy. That, it appears from the minutes, has been a hallucination.

In the contest between Father Delany and Cruise O'Brien I was among those who took the side of O'Brien. Now, I rather wonder why, possibly because I have, with age, grown as allergic as Father Delany to demonstrations by students. As will appear, it was not the side on which my bread was buttered—the cynic may suggest that is why I now wonder why. I think that I was not fully in sympathy with O'Brien but that I shared the pretty general feeling that the College Council (which was only Father Delany writ large) in purporting in November 1906, to 'remove Mr. O'Brien from the auditorship' was high-handedly exceeding its powers or, as it would now be put, was acting unconstitutionally. The President of University College was *ex officio* President of the Society, but the 'Constitution and Rules of the Society' said that 'the Government of the Society shall

be entrusted to an Auditor and committee of seven'. The 'removal' was like 'The Park' coming to Merrion Street to remove the Taoiseach, a proceeding as little in the nature of things as the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane.

The Society was split between the Conformists, if I may so call them, and the Non-Conformists. O'Brien had to hold his inaugural in the Antient Concert Rooms (the Embassy Cinema). In December 1906 the Conformists announced a General Meeting of the Society at which Maurice Healy was to read a paper. The meeting was not billed as an inaugural and it had not the trappings of an inaugural but it was to be held not in the Physics Theatre but in the *Aula Maxima*, the traditional forum of inaugurals, and it became suspect to the Non-Conformists as an *ersatz* inaugural. A number of them, including myself, came to the meeting and made ourselves heard almost as often as Maurice with interruptions which we thought witty and telling but of which Father Tom Finlay, the formidable chairman, took a much poorer view.

It may well be that it is glossing over misbehaviour to think of this as a light-hearted lark but certainly I did not realise how great had been our offending, though Father John Gwynn S.J. gave me a friendly warning that a Short Way might be had with Dissenters, until I came home for Christmas to find that I had been preceded by a letter from Father Delany to my father in which he described how there had been rowdiness at the meeting on the part of students, some of whom seemed under the influence of drink; and regretted that I, who latterly had seemed to come under some misguiding influence, had not behaved myself as befitted a Clongowes boy. I am sure that the effect was not intended: the letter was a fair letter from Father Delany's point of view: but I think it was a very natural association of 'the influences' that led my father to stand on Coleraine Station wondering whether when I got off the train I would make at once for the Refreshment Room for some further misguidance. In point of fact I had not at that time fallen for Guinness or Jameson or Power. No ration of rum had been issued as we gathered for the assault, and my courage, wherever I got it from, had not been Dutch.

The whip-lash of the letter was in the regret that Father Delany might find it difficult at the end of the year to give me the certificate of good conduct necessary for the renewal of the scholarship from Clongowes on which I had come to University College. Well, even in youth I was not of the stuff of martyrs. I suppose that in effect I was bound to the peace in the amount of the scholarship, but Father Delany was above demanding that humble pie be eaten audibly. It became understood that dissent would not again take explosive form. My recollection has always been that, assaults from without having been barred, the less non-conforming of the Non-Conformists took the line of capturing the Society from within, and wresting power from the Conformists, and particularly from Maurice Healy, not because of any animus against him personally (he had taken the interruptions good-humouredly) but because he personified Conformity.

I cannot now remember how many of the Residents were of that mind. The Residents, of whom I was one, were students who lived in what is now Newman House and was then University College, Dublin, where lectures were given and meetings were held. There they were provided by the Jesuit Fathers for a very reasonable charge with adequate, well-fired bed-sitting rooms and very good commons, three square meals a day. Their strength in the Society was not so much in their number which never exceeded twelve as, I think, in the calibre of the individuals and in the fact that they were on the spot for meetings. They were never a pledge-bound party: men like the brothers George and Conor Maguire, my own brother Patrick, and Joseph Brennan, who then had the mind of his own which he later showed as Governor or Cassandra (no yes-woman) of the Central Bank, were no yes-men. But undoubtedly there was a unity and comradeship amongst them that added greatly to life as a student and, of course, stood to individual Residents in the Society, though it told against them among those who sniffed at it as a clannishness of Clongownians. Ginger O'Connell might be called a semi-detached Resident. He did not live in number 86 but he was usually there and always welcome. That did not mean he could be counted on. Ginger was essentially

unaccountable. He always had the most profoundly philosophical reasons for not doing what was expected of him.

There was an anti-Healy or opposition move at the Extraordinary General Meeting held on February 4th, 1907, to elect four members to represent the Society at an inter-debate with Edinburgh University, but the mechanics of it are mysterious. The minutes show that I proposed and Joseph Hackett (another Resident) seconded that the four delegates be first elected and that then an election of three substitutes be held. This was clearly a manoeuvre but the point of it escapes me. The four elected were Keane (a Jesuit scholastic), Dawson (an ex-Auditor who had not spoken in the Society for several years and who regarded the seethings of 1905 and 1906 as the teething troubles of the immature) and Thomas Bodkin. The substitutes elected were myself, Slattery (possibly a Resident) and Meagher. Healy had no objection to Bodkin and though he would have preferred Aedan Cox to Dawson (the election of whom is another instance of the mysterious ways in which we worked our wonders to perform), it is hard to see why the result was thought to be a famous victory for the party of the substitutes and why it made Maurice exclaim—my recollection of this is corroborated—that if Michael McGilligan ever became a member of the Irish Party he would disrupt it. The first substitute seemingly ranked as the first murderer. (For the benefit of those, who seeing that there is now no such Party, might think that the prophecy had come true, I may say that the Party was snuffed out, not disrupted and that, if an alibi be needed, I have a very good one as I was in India at the time.) In the event Healy dropped out and Dawson, Bodkin and I went to Edinburgh. Why Healy dropped out I do not remember. How we had the foresight that he would do so is beyond my hindsight.

Then in May 1907 with the expiration of O'Brien's auditorship came the opportunity, if not to capture the auditorship, at least to keep Healy out of it. That would have been easy since in the event he beat Bodkin by only eight votes. Bodkin had been away in Paris at the time of 'the Troubles' and was not a *persona non grata*. And yet the minute of May the 18th records that I seconded Maurice for the auditorship. This is the minute that makes me

feel hallucinated. As for infiltration into the committee, one and a half Residents, Ginger and I, were elected and I became record secretary. In the following year when Thomas Bodkin was returned unopposed, two more Residents, George Maguire and Michael Dwyer, were elected to the committee and became correspondence secretary and treasurer. In May 1909, when I was elected Auditor in a contest with James J. Doyle, four Residents, Patrick McGilligan, George Maguire, Michael Dwyer and Conor Maguire, gained the first four places on the committee. This might suggest that they were on a Tammany ticket, but the first non-Resident polled only one vote less than the Resident just above him. On the other hand the merciless minutes refuse to conceal the fact that I polled 44 votes for the auditorship and my brother polled 44 votes to become senior committee-man. That, of course, was purely coincidental.

I suppose that then, if ever, was the time of Resident rule, the time when, if the minutes did not explode the myth, the officers of the Society came straight from the (Trojan) horse's mouth. In fact, while Conor Maguire became correspondence secretary the committee elected J. R. Duggan as record secretary and Michael Davitt as treasurer. At about the same time the Residents ceased to be Residents. The National University was born that year, a very long-term child, the delivery calling for the use of forceps. There was no longer room in 86 for Jesuits or Residents. Some of us faced together the rigours of life in digs. That one of the party who dealt most efficiently with landladies never deviated from the principle that we must be fortified against those rigours by two eggs, and, of course, bacon for breakfast. The landlady who would give only one egg—*anathema sit*.

The candidates for the auditorship in May 1910 were Michael Davitt and Patrick McGilligan. Davitt's personal qualities were in themselves more than enough to make him a very strong candidate. In addition the fact that he was a medical tapped for him a source of votes. And there was the attraction of his name. The other candidate suffered undoubtedly from the fact that his name was, inevitably, the same as his brother's. (That boot is now on the other foot, if you know what I mean.) Part of the

Society, like the Turk, feared a brother near the throne and balked at letting a dynasty seem to found itself. Four Clongownians in a row as Auditors was more than could be stomached by others, whose insides would not have as much as quivered if the row had been in a dangle on the gallows. In the result Davitt won and on his merits, but the merits of his opponent appear from the fact that he lost by only three votes in a poll of forty-three. In one (prejudiced) view it might be said that the win by three points was not so much on merits as on penalties kicked against the loser for barging in the line-out as an ex-Resident, having his foot up in the scrum as an ex-Clongownian and being damningly off-side through his (congenital) inability to get behind the fact that he was not an ex-McGilligan.

The committee elected in May 1910 was fated to fall in February 1911, upon a vote of censure moved by Tom Costello and carried by the two-thirds majority required to extinguish a committee; the first time, I think, that *sansculottes* succeeded in storming the Bastille. Why the heads rolled is obscure. The *National Student* says that a motion of censure was an annual diversion on the part of Costello and that he moved this particular one 'upon grounds of great variety'. It appears that E. T. Freeman proved to his own satisfaction that he killed Cock Robin while J. R. Duggan was confident that he did the deed with his little arrow. The mystifying minutes run true to form by recording that at a meeting to elect a new committee Ginger proposed and I seconded a resolution (passed by a large majority) that the Society was of the opinion that no members of the retiring (sic) committee should seek re-election. The compulsorily retired did, it is true, include John J. Molloy and J. A. Ronayne, two men who had always thrown their considerable weight against the Residents, but they included also four ex-Residents, the brothers Maguire, my own brother and M. J. Dwyer. And at the very meeting which passed this resolution George Maguire and Patrick McGilligan were re-elected to the committee. I cannot think that Ginger and I did not vote for them. The others elected, Arthur Cox (who headed the poll), the brothers John and Tom Costello, M. J. Ryan and J. B. Magennis, were all new to the committee. If they represented

the *sansculottes*, it will be noted that *La République irlandaise* later trousered them in the professional pepper and salt.

The brothers McGilligan and the brothers Maguire quit the three-legged race—enter the brothers Costello. The *National Student* coined what it called a Latin couplet, *Costello: Arcades ambo*, 'in honour of the elevation of this entire family to the committee'. Tom became the record secretary and Jack correspondence secretary in the committee elected in May 1911. Tom ('the Clemenceau of the Society': *Student*) was at that time the more dynamic of the two. Tom laid about him in the Society. It is in other places, if at all, as the pleaders say, that Jack has swung his flail. He was not then the Costello of the Courts if, as Michael Davitt (I think) wrote in the *National Student*, 'one could not get over the idea that he did not believe in what he was saying'. No juryman has ever had to get over that idea.

In 1911 the candidates for auditorship were Patrick McGilligan and John A. Ronayne. Ronayne had been one of those 'rusticated' along with Cruise O'Brien. In the autumn of 1907 he returned to the Society but in April 1908 the College Council wrote to say that he was still 'disqualified'. Maurice Healy drafted a rather obsequiously worded resolution asking the Council to 'validate his (Ronayne's) admission as a favour to the Society and in promotion of its welfare'. Ronayne, asked if he would like this sent, replied, according to the correspondence secretary as recorded in the minutes: 'I am indifferent one way or the other, in fact don't give a damn'. That damned the resolution, but in January 1910 Ronayne was 'received back into the Society', Dr. Coffey having said that he had no objection. Ronayne at once made his mark. In 1911 he was, I think, a practising barrister. But for his untimely death he would have made his mark at the Bar and in public life.

With such candidates in the field the election was bound to be keen. There was keen canvassing, as is apparent from the fact that there was a poll of 163 as against 43 in the previous year. My brother was not, and, I understand, still is not, good at canvassing but he was lucky in having good canvassers, one of the most whole-hearted and persuasive of whom was Conor Maguire.

Undoubtedly there was bitterness of a kind and degree that I had not seen in any previous election. I do not remember why: I am not sure that I ever knew why. The meeting at which Ronayne was declared elected was stormy. Michael Davitt in the *National Student* wrote of 'scenes of dramatic enthusiasm, of feminine revenge and fervid indignation'. Who revenged herself on whom, and how and why, I wish I could remember, but if a Charlotte Corday knifed a Marat that must have escaped my notice.

The same account adds that the announcement of the result was followed by a temperate and dignified notice of a petition against the validity of the election 'with reasons forthcoming in calm and ordered sequence'. The giver of the notice and the reasons was Conor Maguire. The big reason was that inadmissible votes had been allowed in. At that time the votes were scrutinised by the Auditor and two assessors. The committee had appointed Molloy and myself as the assessors on this occasion, possibly to ensure that the scrutiny would be rigorous, one of us taking care that the Whig dogs should not get the best of it and the other taking equal care as regards the Tory dogs. An article in the *Student* speaks of 'the assessors and the seventeen votes, the tension at the final counting'. I do not remember how many voting papers were objected to, but at the end, what with give and take on the part of Molloy and myself and accepted rulings one way or the other by Davitt there remained, I think, three votes (all for Ronayne) which I thought hopelessly bad, Molloy thought good and Davitt thought passable. The petition challenged the validity of the election (the words of the rule) on the grounds that these voting papers should have been rejected. The President, with whom the decision lay, took the opinion of the Solicitor-General (Ignatius O'Brien, an ex-Auditor) and was advised, according to the *Student*, that, though the objections were on technical grounds, four of the votes objected to were incontestably bad and that the election must be declared void. The 'four', if correct, causes speculation. Ronayne, again according to the *Student*, had been declared elected by a majority of 3 in a poll of 163. If, as my impression is, only the votes objected to on

behalf of McGilligan were sent to the Solicitor-General, then it would seem that McGilligan had a majority of one of the valid votes. But it may be that the seventeen originally objected to were sent to the Solicitor-General. However this may be, the sensible, though perhaps not the legal, course would have been to eliminate the invalid votes and declare elected the candidate who had received the majority of the valid votes.

But Dr. Coffey went on the basis that the election was void. This should have meant another election but nobody wanted another election. Dr. Coffey suggested a compromise which followed closely King Solomon's compromise between the two mothers. This is not to say that Dr. Coffey was a Solomon but rather that he rather liked to do things by halves. The woman who had made the false claim to the baby said: 'let it be neither mine nor thine but divide it'. Dr. Coffey said to the candidates: 'let the auditorship be neither thine nor thine but divide it'. His suggestion was that there be two Auditors for the year, each with exactly the same title to auditorship and both to read an inaugural address. Ronayne was to hold office until February 14th, 1912, and McGilligan from that date. The article in the *Student* of December 1911, written before any trouble on the point had arisen, says that, after much disputing, this compromise was agreed on and ratified by the Society on December 2nd, 1911. It certainly was ratified at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Society on that date at which Dr. Coffey presided. An article in the *Student* of March 1912, written after the dispute had arisen, says that it was ratified with only one dissentient but it should be added that at that time Ronayne was away in London.

The compromise had been ratified by the Society but had it been agreed on? At this interval of time it is difficult to disentangle the facts. There is certainly no record that Ronayne ever agreed to the compromise set forth above. At a meeting attended by both sides at which Dr. Coffey put forward his suggestions, Ronayne refused to accept them, but it became understood that he had agreed to them at a private interview which had been arranged between him and Dr. Coffey. In February 1912, Ronayne, who had held his inaugural in Decem-

ber, stated that what he had agreed on with Dr. Coffey differed in important details from the compromise which Dr. Coffey, the other party to the interview, had had ratified by the Society, and which certainly was in the terms originally suggested by Dr. Coffey and in the terms agreed to by Ronayne's opponent. Ronayne's position, it appeared, was that he was to hold office until the rules had been generally revised and a clause inserted in them empowering the President or the Society to nominate McGilligan as successor. Then he would resign voluntarily. That, his opponent said, would be Tibb's Eve since the first meeting to revise the rules had not been held until February 9th and had in several hours dealt with only three rules out of thirty-one.

The privacy of the interview, the unfortunate fact that after that interview Dr. Coffey did not call the two principals together, the further unfortunate fact that Ronayne was away when the Extraordinary General Meeting was held, and the contemplated revision of the rules, all left room for misunderstanding. But—the election had been declared void; and neither candidate, Ronayne no more and no less than McGilligan, was entitled to act as Auditor, to hold an inaugural and to preside at meetings except under a compromise accepted by the Society. If Ronayne's position was, as it appears to have been, that he was a duly elected Auditor who, for the sake of peace, was willing to resign and let a pretender succeed him when an alteration of the rules made that permissible, his position was clearly untenable. If an alteration of the rules was required to legalize McGilligan's being Auditor for part of the year, a similar alteration was required to legalize Ronayne's being Auditor for the other part.

Possibly the legalities of the matter were that there should have been a new election, or an alteration of the rules, permitting a division of the baby or, more humanely, allowing Ronayne to adopt it for the first six months and McGilligan to adopt it for the second six months of its troubled year of life. It would seem that the equities of the matter were that Ronayne having, by virtue of the arrangement sanctioned by the Society, had quiet possession of the auditorship for the term fixed by that arrangement, McGilligan should have had quiet possession for

the term allotted to him. February 14th was the pivotal day. The programme of the Society prepared by the committee in December bore a note that 'on the 14th February, 1912, Mr. Ronayne's term of office will cease, and Mr. P. McGilligan will hold office until the end of the session'.

Friday, February 16th, was the date of the first meeting after D-day. The supporters of McGilligan were determined that curfew for Ronayne should ring that night and an attempt by him to take the chair at the meeting would have been resisted by force. Dr. Coffey, characteristically, made no move till 8 p.m., the hour of the meeting. Then he summoned the two principals and the committee. An hour later they filed into the meeting room. McGilligan took the chair and said he was taking it because he was Auditor. He added that Dr. Coffey had stated that the compromise on the books was binding. He called on the record secretary to read the minutes, which the secretary did, but not before he had remarked that he was doing so rather than risk rustication, Dr. Coffey having made the question one of discipline. Ronayne who had taken a small chair by the side of McGilligan and had declared he was chairman, then asked the Society would it lie down under this threat and left the room, followed by some ten other members, one of whom returned soon to say that they had seen Coffey and that he had denied making any such threat as had been imputed to him. I have it on high authority that Ronayne had it out hotly with Coffey at this second interview, and that his parting words were that he would apply to the Courts for an injunction. Many an application which sounds promising loses its promise when the stage is reached of putting the facts on affidavit and it may be that when Ronayne sat down to draft his affidavit he found that the facts would not ding. At any rate the affidavit, which would have enriched the annals of the Society, enlivened this narrative and made the Four Courts for the time being rival the National Library as a place of student entertainment, was not made and no Court asked McGilligan *QUO WARRANTO*. There were no further alarms or excursions within or without the Society, and McGilligan had quiet possession of his auditorship.

The two Auditors of 1911-1912 had only one inaugural

between them—Ronayne's. There was to have been a McGilligan inaugural in February or March 1912 but it was not held. Possibly March winds nipped it in the bud as being out of season. In the spring, whatever a young man's fancy turns to, it is not to inaugurals, about which there is something autumnal. In the result my brother and I have not even one inaugural between us. My inaugural, like many things in the 1909-1910 year of transition to the National, when a professor never knew what he would be put off professing and what he would be put on to profess, was put off and off and never put on. Not till after Christmas when the regulations for the College would be completed, said Dr. Coffey in November. I do not remember whether it was in disapproval or imitation that the Committee decided that there would be no ordinary meetings until after the inaugural. (The first ordinary meeting of that year was held on February 12th). In February 'the President could not say when it would be possible to hold the inaugural meeting'. In April 1910 the committee and I agreed to regard the inaugural as still-born, the period of gestation having been so prolonged. I hope that it is not improper, in any sense of that word, for me to say that, instead, I begat, or rather joined in begetting, something better—the *National Student* which first appeared in May 1910. The *National Student* may not be a *monumentum aere perennius*, but the paper on 'The Dublin Student', which was intended for an inaugural address but never got further than the title, would have been buried the night it was read under those monumental speeches by the monuments of public life who come to praise an Auditor, which result in his paper getting an obituary notice of three lines or less.

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It may be noticed that in this connection I have not appealed to the minutes for confirmation or to Heaven against the minutes; and my drawing upon articles which appeared in the *Student* when I was editor, one of which was criticised as being too partisan, may be questioned. The fact is that here the minutes are even more freakish than usual but, as will appear, this is due

in part not to their innate perversity but to a hidden hand. The pages of the minute book bear printed numbers. The minutes of the meeting on May 27th, 1911, at which the result of the election was declared should appear on page 172 or 173 but they appear on page 181, the intervening pages containing minutes of meetings of the committee held between May 27th and November 30th, and they say that Ronayne was declared elected as Auditor but they do not say by what majority. They are signed 'Denis J. Coffey, Dec. 2nd, 1911,' that being the date of the Extraordinary General Meeting at which Dr. Coffey presided. The minutes of that meeting are missing. The page numbered 182 on the one side and 183 on the other, on which they would have appeared and on which they no doubt did appear, has been taken neatly out of the book. Page 184 has on it a minute of a meeting of the committee on December 11th at which a resolution was passed that the minutes of the Extraordinary General Meeting should be read at the inaugural meeting, and that that was done appears from the minute on page 184 of the inaugural meeting which was held on December 12th. It is scarcely probable that this particular page disappeared by accident, but when it was taken and why provides another mystery of the minutes. The deletion of the page was not for the purposes of the controversy which arose in February or, at any rate, use was not made of the deletion in that controversy. The terms of the compromise were not questioned on the ground that there was no record of them in the minutes.

The page must have been in the book on the day of the inaugural; and on February 10th, when there was a general meeting at which Ronayne was questioned on his attitude, an appeal was made to the record in the minute book. It must have been still there on February 16th. It must have been abstracted at some considerably later date when whoever was then record secretary would have no occasion to notice that it was missing. It was not until 1955 that I learned that it was gone. Finally, so far as I can see, there is no minute of the meeting on February 16th, the day of the Great Divide when McGilligan had 'the other half'.

II.—ARTHUR COX

TO BE ASKED TO record some of one's memories gives one a sense of importance, which fades with the realisation that one is now old, and that one has forgotten so much.

My years in the Society were from 1909, the year the present University College commenced—indeed Father Aubrey Gwynn and I believe we were the first to sign the new Roll of Students—to 1913 when, had we but known it, the old world was passing away. Indeed I recall about that time, when talking about the then Labour troubles, James Murnaghan, then Law Professor and since a Justice of the Supreme Court, said 'the time may come when you will look back to this as a Golden Age'. My period in the College and Society saw therefore many students who were destined to play a big part in the new Ireland, but many also who were fated to fall in the Great War or in our wars at home.

Michael McGilligan was the Auditor in my first year. It is difficult to imagine an abler one. A brilliant speaker, he ruled with a quiet authority. Incidentally, he added much to the records of the Society by his witty verses and articles in the *National Student* which then first appeared and for which he, the late John J. Nolan, and Jimmy Doyle were largely responsible. They, and later Eimar O'Duffy, produced light verse which through lack of reprinting, has largely but quite undeservedly been forgotten save by their contemporaries.

The Society was full of personalities. Tom Costello, Jack's elder brother, was dominant in private business. Caring little for more formal debate, he seemed to be for ever in opposition, thundering from the topmost bench down on the committee at their table below, moving votes of censure and perpetually taking the officers to task for some breach of Palgrave's *Parliamentary Procedure* which ruled all our proceedings. Had he remained in Ireland—he became a doctor and was Mayor of the town in which he practised before he died—he would have been a leader. His younger brother Jack, now famous as the Taoiseach who proclaimed the Republic of Ireland, did not

WILLIAM MAGENNIS

Auditor, 1888-89



W. P. COYNE

Secretary, 1883-84 and 1897-1900

Treasurer, 1884-86



seek to vie with him in these storms of private business, but showed himself what the Irish Bar has known him to be, foremost in debate, tenacious in everything to which he set his hand, kindly and courteous.

In my, and I think the general, opinion the most brilliant and finished speakers of these years were Ambrose Davoren and J. J. Molloy. Ambrose, who was fated, like Tom Kettle, to die fighting for Ireland on the Somme, was a classical scholar in the best sense, not pedantic but almost reliving the clear light of the ancient Greece he loved. Molloy was silver tongued. He became a solicitor, and then a District Justice. His brilliant advocacy was thus lost.

Patrick Hogan, afterwards one of the ablest and most widely loved by friend and opponent of all our Ministers, was pre-eminent in his forceful debating power and ruthless common-sense.

Paddy McGilligan who as Minister for Industry and Commerce was with Tommy McLaughlin, who however joined the Society later, to give the Shannon Scheme to Ireland and to set his mark on it as Minister and now Attorney General, was then as ever since, one of the most incisive speakers. With Michael he too helped to dominate the Society. In this the McGilligans were rivalled by the Maguires, Conor (Alec) now Chief Justice, and George, since President of the Irish Medical Association. Indeed brilliant brothers seemed a feature of the Society, for a little later there came Frank and Aidan MacCabe who were styled by John Ronayne as 'the brothers Maccabee'.

The mention of John Ronayne recalls one who died young, but while in the Society was indeed a personality. An excellent speaker and debater, he gave great promise of a high career at the Bar, but his forte was in the politics of the Society. He had a genius for party management, and it was, I think, largely due to him that the Society had the excitements of two world shaking auditorial contests, in one of which he and Paddy McGilligan vied for the chair, and the other in which Jack Costello and I were the protagonists.

It is, however, impossible to mention all. I find I have not named George O'Brien, for whose lifetime friendship I am

deeply grateful, and who in the L. & H. learned the powers he has since devoted to the College.

Michael McGilligan was followed in the chair by Michael Davitt, Cahir's eldest brother. Michael had all the gifts which made his father an illustrious name in Irish history. He, like so many others, died young, but not before he left to us the memory of a generous Irishman, who, for his friends, still seems to live.

In a short note like this, one cannot speak of all one recalls. Two of my most vivid memories are of inter-debates in which I took part. One of the most memorable of these was with the King's Inns. It took place in Henrietta Street, and the subject was Women's Suffrage. The L. & H. opposed the suffrage. At the door of the Inns a strong force of the then D.M.P. kept back the women demonstrators. I forget my speech, but Judge Martin Maguire, who spoke for the Law Students, has often reminded me since that my argument that women caused wars, as exemplified by Helen at Troy, brought down the house, probably with laughter at my expense.

The other was at Manchester, whose College Debating Society held an inter-debate on Home Rule to which it invited two speakers from each of the other Colleges in these islands. Michael Davitt and I represented the L. & H. I am afraid we failed in our task, because the final vote was against Home Rule. The proceedings were modelled on the House of Commons, the delegates taking the role of members.

Another very vivid memory is of somewhat later. At the great Home Rule Meeting held in 1912 in O'Connell Street, at which a vast crowd attended, filling the great thoroughfare from Parnell Square to Trinity College, the L. & H. was privileged to have a stand which backed on the O'Connell monument facing towards College Green. Michael Davitt, John Ronayne and I were among the speakers. This meeting was perhaps the highest point of the Home Rule movement. It was not many months later that the split between the adherents of force and the Parliamentary Party occurred. For the moment, however, all Ireland, Redmond, Dillon, Devlin, and Pearse were united. At our platform the most dramatic incident was a denuncia-

tion by Ronayne of the Union Jack, which for some extraordinary reason had been hoisted over the offices of a newspaper at Carlisle Building.

In my period the outstanding events in the inner history of the Society were the entry of the lady students into the Society, and the auditorial contests.

At, I think, the second meeting of the Society in 1909, the admission of ladies was proposed by J. J. Molloy. The motion was defeated. I remember that I spoke against it. Shortly afterwards, however, the women, perhaps remembering the wooden horse of Troy, gained the day by the simple expedient of paying their subscriptions to the unsuspecting treasurer. Following this there was a further motion. Davitt was then in the chair. To the horror of the anti-feminists he ruled that they had the right themselves to vote on whether they should be admitted or not. They then voted themselves in. Some of them, Miss Deane, Miss May Hogan, Miss Ballesty and Miss Mary Arkins subsequently became frequent speakers, and contributed no little to the debates.

The great battle for the auditorship between Paddy McGilligan and John Ronayne resulted in an extraordinary draw. The opinions of leading counsel were taken, amongst others from Ignatius O'Brien who was afterwards one of the last Lord Chancellors of Ireland. Eventually Dr. Coffey, the President, imposed the rough-and-ready solution that Ronayne should be Auditor for the first half of the year and McGilligan for the second. This decision provoked no little heat amongst the supporters of each. It however gave to the Society two great and outstanding personalities in the chair.

The next year saw the election contest between Jack Costello and myself. It was, I think, largely the backwash of the previous battle. By this time electioneering tactics had been brought to a high perfection. Although Jack and I were then, as I am proud to say we have always remained, close friends, no device was omitted by the supporters of either. On my side, poor Martin Dalton, who died a year or so ago, was my foremost agent, having learned much of politics from his father, who had been organiser of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Ably abetted

by the late Michael J. Ryan, he steered me to victory. And so, I am ashamed to say, I defeated Costello. He was the most friendly of opponents, and as I have said, I have been happy to be called his friend.

The battle was resumed the following year, when Michael J. Ryan himself stood against Costello and Conor Maguire. Ryan had by then however so developed his machine that he triumphed by an easy majority. His victory no doubt led to his decision to abandon engineering for the law.

I have mentioned already the brilliant articles which Michael McGilligan wrote for the *National Student*. I may be excused for recalling that one of these purported to be the record of a visit by an ancient Roman to the L. & H. debate. After the debate his notes were alleged to have been found. He had written short Latin verses on many of the speakers. That which referred to me, read:—

*Auditisne Arthur Cocem
qui est nihil praeter vocem?*

I have always remembered it, because I am afraid it was true.

III.—GEORGE O'BRIEN

IN MY UNDERGRADUATE DAYS, University College was a very different place from what it is today. In 1910 the number of students was very small by present-day standards. We were few enough to get to know each other very well, even if some of us did not like each other very much. Indeed some of the developments in the political history of Ireland in the years since the Treaty grew out of the affinities and dislikes of my contemporaries. Old alliances and old quarrels reappeared in the wider field of public life. But in spite of a certain amount of coolness between some of us, we had known each other so long that we developed a kind of freemasonry uniting us against strangers. We had the common tie of the same youthful memories and the same academic loyalties. We were a band of brothers even if the family was rather dis-united.

The whole atmosphere of the College was far more intimate than that of the much larger College of to-day. Although the Jesuits had ceased to conduct the College, the spirit of their régime continued to haunt the place which was still, in most respects, the same College that Joyce has so vividly portrayed. To those of us who remember University College when it was situated in 86, the *Portrait of the Artist* and *Stephen Hero* stir up many intimate associations. When I read these works by the most famous of our students, I am wafted back in memory to the days of my youth.

Owing to the course which events were to take in the fateful years ahead, many of my contemporaries were destined to witness and some of them were destined to help in shaping the new Ireland that followed the Treaty. The more I think over it, the more impressed I am by the influence which the College of my student years has exercised over the course of Irish politics. The generation which was then educated included many of the rulers of the independent Ireland of the future. We were growing up into a revolutionary period in which many of us were to take a leading part. An examination of the list of ministers, politicians, judges, civil servants and other public men who have moulded the Ireland of to-day would reveal the names of very large numbers of graduates of University College. Some of the most important and influential names would belong to the generation of students who were in the College in the years when I was an under-graduate. Several ministers in the Irish governments of the last thirty-three years were my contemporaries.

Our professors, without knowing it, were forming the minds of a new governing class. Looking back, I can see the immense responsibility that lay on the shoulders of the men who taught us and shaped our outlook and character. Speaking of my own professors, I can say without hesitation that they were competent for their onerous task. The professor of political economy was Father T. A. Finlay, who was one of the most influential men in Ireland, with contacts far outside academic circles. His activities in relation to agricultural co-operation gave him direct experience of current economic problems. He was as far removed

from the dry-as-dust theoretical economist as it is possible to imagine. In fact he was impatient of discussion that did not lead to practical results. I owe so much to Father Finlay that I cannot trust myself to speak of him without partiality, but I am safe in asserting that he wielded an immense influence for good on many generations of students in the College. Father Finlay was assisted in teaching economics by Tom Kettle, another remarkable figure, though of a very different kind.

My law professors were all distinguished men. Swift MacNeill was an active member of Parliament who travelled to Dublin during the session to lecture us on Saturdays and Mondays. He spent the rest of the week in Westminster. We used to hear a good deal of the latest political gossip during our lectures on constitutional law. This gave us a feeling of being in touch with real constitutional problems. James Murnaghan was an academic lawyer of the highest calibre. He later played an important part in laying the foundations of the constitution of the Irish Free State and was for many years a distinguished and respected judge. Our third law professor was Arthur Clery, a man of many parts. In addition to being a first-class lawyer, he was an active journalist with original opinions on Irish social and political problems.

All my professors were eminent in different ways. They all helped to mould my outlook and character in my impressionable undergraduate years. But the two who exercised the greatest influence were, probably, Tom Kettle and Arthur Clery. The reason for this was that they seemed more able and willing to bridge the gap between teacher and student than their colleagues, who were elderly or busy. Tom Kettle did not pretend to be a profound student of economic theory. He was a politician and a man of affairs with a first-hand knowledge of current Irish economic problems. In this respect he resembled Father Finlay. He had been a member of Parliament and a successful journalist. His class was so small that his lectures were really conversations in which he did not hesitate to express opinions on many subjects far outside the field of economics. On fine afternoons in May, he and his students used to go to Stephen's Green where he would lecture in the open air, near where his bust

now stands. I have happy memories of some of those far-off sunny days. Kettle was a 'professor of things in general' from whom I learned a great deal about history and literature. He used to ask his students to evening parties in his house where we met older people and widened our outlook on men and things.

Arthur Clery also used to entertain his students. He gave very pleasant little dinner parties in restaurants and larger parties in his own rooms. He had strong, if not always orthodox, views on every Irish problem and was a stimulating and provocative talker. In later years, after the Treaty, he became rather bitter and, I am afraid, sour. But during my student days he was the soul of kindness. His friendship greatly enriched the lives of many of his students. Like Kettle, he was a man of wide general culture and taught us much besides law. He was the most popular of our professors. My memories of him are all happy.

Apart from Tom Kettle and Arthur Clery, there was little personal intercourse between professors and students. As I said, some of our professors were elderly, others were busy. We rather lacked the education of conversation between different generations that can play such an important part in university life. But, I think, we made up for this lack by a good deal of mutual education of one another. In the law school our lectures were all finished quite early each morning. We were free to spend a lot of time in the National Library. Those were the days when students were admitted without the need of readers' tickets or any other formality. The Library played a very prominent part in our education. It was there that we read both on our examination subjects and on things in general. The steps, in fine weather, were the scene of much conversation. The conversations on the Library steps in Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist* bring back vivid memories of the hours that we used to spend on the same spot. We talked mainly about Irish politics. We were all ardent admirers of Belloc and Chesterton whose most challenging books were appearing at the time. I suppose we could be correctly described as Chesterbellocs. We also read a good deal of H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw. We were not, as far as my memory does not deceive me, equally conscious

of the Irish literary movement. This was no doubt because we were interested more in politics than in literature.

Debating was a most important part of College life. The two debating societies, the Literary and Historical and the Legal and Economic, were the places where mind met mind and personality developed. It was in these societies that many men, who afterwards became distinguished statesmen, barristers and professors, learned the art of speaking in public. The debates in the gloomy gas-lit precincts of the Old Physics Theatre were rehearsals for much distinguished parliamentary and legal oratory. Moreover it was in the debating societies that the students came to appraise each other's ability and character. At the present day, the debating societies play an immensely important part in the student life of the College. They played, I think, an even more important part in my own student days.

The Literary and Historical Society contained several extremely able members. The Society indulged in a good deal of so-called private business before the debates. In this private business College politics and personalities were freely bandied about. This experience made one a little quicker and tougher. The Legal and Economic Society was, by comparison with the L. & H., slightly high-brow. It aimed at the serious discussion of serious subjects and everybody spoke as well as he possibly could. The history of the Legal and Economic Society would make interesting reading if its records could be found. It is, however, outside the scope of the present volume and I shall refer to it no more.

The L. & H. was undoubtedly a school of oratory that produced notable speakers in the legal profession and in politics. It was the nursery of the statesmen of the new Ireland of the future. My own principal activities in debating took place in other societies, but I was a constant attendant at the L. & H. Although I never attained the highest office, I was by no means a mere back-bencher. I held office as correspondence secretary and won a medal. I took an active part in the annual elections. I proposed Arthur Cox for the auditorship in the famous election in which he defeated John Costello. If anybody had ventured to predict that one of the parties to this contest would sever

the last link that bound Ireland to the British Empire and would become prime minister of an Irish Republic, his prophecy would have been received with scepticism if not incredulity. The fact is that Ireland and the world were on the eve of great, unforeseen and unforeseeable events that were to unsettle most of the assumptions of our generation.

During my under-graduate years in University College, the prevailing political opinion among the students was constitutional nationalism. These were the years of the Home Rule struggle in Westminster, which we naturally followed with the greatest keenness. Our interest in the parliamentary battle was not entirely impersonal. We all took it for granted that, if Home Rule was achieved, we would be among the politicians of the new Ireland. A Home Rule Parliament in those days would, no doubt, have been dominated by the Irish Party, who would have earned the credit for its establishment. We, in the College, had many connections with the Irish Party. Tom Kettle had been a distinguished member of the House of Commons. Nobody doubted that he would play an important part in the politics of a self-governing Ireland. Swift MacNeill, by reason of his great knowledge of parliamentary procedure, was 'tipped' as the first Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. The newspapers sometimes speculated regarding the future and constructed 'shadow cabinets' which contained many of our friends.

We all confidently expected that in a short time we would be exercising our oratory, not in the dingy Physics Theatre in 86, but in 'the Old House in College Green'. It was because of this hope that we took our debates so seriously. We had heard that future English prime ministers were picked out because of their performances at the Oxford Union, and we believed that, when the chair at the L. & H. was taken by distinguished visitors such as John Dillon, some future Irish prime minister might attract influential attention if his oratory aroused sufficient admiration. I remember Arthur Cox saying to me that there were only three positions for which we were being fitted by our education—Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition and Speaker of the House of Commons. These

positions have, in fact, been held by some of our contemporaries.

So certain were we of the approach of Home Rule that some of our students neglected to prepare for a profession, believing that they would get a good job when self-government came. We were in the thick of the nationalist movement. The Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League—the 'Yibs'—was largely composed of our graduates. Our students were regarded as something like the youth movement of the Parliamentary Party. It was in this capacity that some of us were invited to act as stewards at the famous meeting in the Theatre Royal in 1912, at which Asquith and other cabinet ministers spoke. The suffragette movement was then at its height. As Asquith drove through O'Connell Street, he was nearly hit on the head by a hatchet thrown by an enthusiastic lady. We were instructed to be particularly vigilant to prevent disturbances during the meeting. All was peaceful until an innocent-looking bearded friar began to shout 'Votes for Women'. He was immediately recognised as Francis Sheehy-Skeffington who, as a well-known advocate of women's suffrage, would not have been admitted to the meeting if he had not been disguised. He was removed from the theatre still screaming his slogan. This small service to the Home Rule movement was performed by a number of college students.

If our dreams did not come true precisely as we expected, they were, nevertheless, not completely false. Self-government was to be attained, but by methods which most of my contemporaries did not foresee. But in its effect on the promotion of the younger generation the result was not very different from what we had hoped. In normal times, there is a very gradual and indeterminate transition from the lower to the higher ranks of professional and political life. But when a revolution succeeds, a new generation suddenly takes the place of the old. In Ireland, the Treaty produced such a revolution. The old order was replaced by the new almost overnight. The youth of my generation grew up to a situation when openings were unusually wide and opportunities unusually common. The recruitment of the most important posts in the country from a comparatively young age-group had certain

adverse effects in later years. It delayed the promotion of the next generation of young men. This effect could be observed in politics, in the judiciary and in the civil and military services.

The part played by my generation in the College in the new Ireland is shown by a debate that took place in 1913, between the L. & H. and the Law Students' Debating Society. The L. & H. was represented by Arthur Cox, John Costello, Conor Maguire and myself. Our little team included a future prime minister, a future chief justice, a future president of the Incorporated Law Society and two future senators. The four of us were present at a dinner given by the L. & H. in 1951. My feelings on that occasion were composed of a mixture of pride in my contemporaries, of consciousness of approaching old age and of awareness of the loyalty and continuous tradition of the College graduates.

A little later I was at an important State banquet in Iveagh House, given by the Minister for External Affairs. Most of the diplomatic corps were present. The Irish guests included Costello, Maguire, McGilligan, Hayes and Lavery. I felt on that occasion that our generation had certainly played an important part in the formation of the new Ireland. That evening I happened to look out of the window of the room in Iveagh House where dinner was given. It was about ten o'clock on a June night. The light was fading. I saw the unmistakable great stone mass of University College from an unexpected and unusual aspect. This institution, I thought, was the mother of our careers. I felt that a College that had produced so many leaders and so much public service deserved well of the nation.

I think that it is unfair to confine one's estimate of a generation of students to those who survived and succeeded in the battle of life. Some of the most notable of my contemporaries perished in battles of a sterner kind. We had barely completed our student days when the first world war broke out. Countless young Irishmen joined the British Army and many made the supreme sacrifice. It is quite impossible to estimate the loss caused to Ireland by the premature death of so many men of promise. It is hard to believe that Tom Kettle would not have

played a distinguished part in Irish life if he had not been killed. The same can be truthfully said, I think, of two fellow students of mine who were killed in the war. I refer to Ambrose Davoren, who was generally admitted to be the best orator in the College, and to Bernard Reid who showed signs of great literary talent. Another cause of abnormal wastage of youth was the influenza epidemic that killed more people even than the war. One of its victims was John Ronayne, who would undoubtedly have played an active part in politics if he had lived. Many other names could be called to mind but I have mentioned enough to illustrate my point that the generation of students to which I belonged was doomed to many early deaths. For some it was a period of great opportunity, but for others it was a period of great danger. In estimating the wealth of talent that the College and the L. & H. possessed in those years, we must not forget to include the names of those who were destined to die young.

IV.—CAHIR DAVITT

ONE NIGHT IN EARLY FEBRUARY 1912 I made my way from Westland Row railway station to Stephen's Green and up the steps of No. 86. Going through the front hall I turned left down the steps past Bacon's office and the lady professors' room and up the staircase of No. 85 to the first landing. Timidly opening the double-leafed door I entered and found myself in a large, lofty and well-proportioned, though dingy room. Opposite me was a tall triple baywindow. On my right was a large fireplace and a marble mantelpiece with a few mouldering biological specimens upon it. In front of this was a long table covered with some kind of black oil-cloth, at which four young men were seated with their backs to the fire. On my left was a number of well-occupied wooden benches rising from the floor in several tiers and stretching the whole length of the room. A number of wooden chairs, most of them occupied, took up much of the remaining space. The place was lighted by a two-branched central chandelier with incandescent gas burners. I nervously tip-toed across the room

and secured a seat on one of the benches to the left. There were many ladies present, all seated together on the benches near the door. I was for the first time in the Old Physics Theatre and an extraordinary general meeting of the Literary and Historical Society was in progress.

The purpose of the meeting was to revise the Society's rules; and the Auditor, one of the four men at the table, was presiding. He was rather plump, with a round, chubby, fresh face and sleek black hair. This was John A. Ronayne of whom I had heard so much. He did not look like a Rugby wing three-quarter but he played in that position for Old Saint Mary's. On his right was Thomas J. Costello, the record secretary and on his left the correspondence secretary, John A. Costello. These I knew, at least by sight, before they left our school, O'Connell School, to come to U.C.D. On the extreme left sat Michael J. Ryan, the treasurer.

The assembly was debating the question whether the word 'student', whenever it occurred in the rules, should be defined to include or exclude women. The issue whether they should be allowed as members of the Society had, it appeared, been a vexed question for some years. The Society had for long been a purely masculine preserve; but back in 1907 the rules had, by resolution, been interpreted so as to admit women to membership. This decision was nullified by Father Delany, but upon the advent of the new régime the ladies had taken their place in the Society. In 1910 a motion that the word 'student' be interpreted to include men only was proposed by E. T. Freeman and narrowly defeated, the votes of the women present sufficing to turn the scale. Those who wished to have the Society preserved as one for men only maintained that the women had 'voted themselves in'. My elder brother, Michael was one of these and, sad to relate, I had at his instigation joined the Society a few days previously for the express purpose of casting my vote in favour of a purely masculine Society. The matter was debated at great length. I do not purport to remember who spoke but I believe that Alec Maguire and Paddy McGilligan spoke in favour of the women, and Tom Costello, Freeman, and my brother against them. It was expected that

feminine votes would again decide the issue, and those who desired a strictly male Society sought to prolong the debate to such a late hour that the girls from the hostels, of whom there were quite a number present, would be forced to leave before the crucial division was taken. As far as I was concerned, this policy defeated its own object. I lived out in Glenageary, and my last train left Westland Row at 11.45. When I was forced to leave after 11.35, to make a run for it, the debate was still dragging on while the women's phalanx stood firm and undismayed. The girls from the hostels had with commendable foresight secured special permission from their authorities to remain until the vote was taken on their right to membership; and in due course the women once more 'voted themselves in'. When the rules were again revised in 1915, the lady members (at my earnest request, I am glad to say) had the good sense to refrain from voting upon this crucial issue. It was then decided in their favour by the unanimous vote of the men and in this way what had long been considered by some to be a defect in their title to membership was at last removed.

While I did not become a member until this occasion in February 1912, my interest in the Society really dates from the time I was about fourteen years old. Michael was my senior by over four years and went on from O'Connell School, with Tom Costello and Joe Doyle, to study medicine in 1907. He joined the Society during Maurice Healy's auditorship, and soon began to entertain the family circle with accounts of recent history and current events; and in this way, as time went on, I became familiar with the names, and heard of some of the doings, of Cruise O'Brien, John Ronayne, Maurice Healy, Tom Bodkin, Michael and Paddy McGilligan, Conor (Alec) and George Maguire, Arthur Cox and Michael Ryan, long before I ever encountered any of these personalities in the flesh. Michael's entry was towards the close of a period when U.C.D. was a partly residential college conducted by the Jesuits, under the presidency of Father Delany. The impression which I gathered, rightly or wrongly, from what he told us was that some rivalry existed between the students

who were resident in 86 and their associates on the one hand, and the general body of non-residents on the other; and that this was in part responsible for the development in the Society of two parties which for want of better names I shall call Right and Left. Cruise O'Brien and John Ronayne had been of the Left, Maurice Healy and Tom Bodkin of the Right. Michael became a stout partisan of the Left which, I believe, numbered amongst its adherents several fellow medicals including Tom Costello and E. T. Freeman; while the brothers McGilligan and Maguire were prominent and staunch supporters of the Right. In due course, largely aided, no doubt, by support from his fellow medicals Michael, in the auditorial election of 1910, carried the standard of the Left to victory over Paddy McGilligan by three votes in a total poll of forty-three. This party feeling, I understood, flared out finally in the famous election of the following year.

My first direct contact with the Society was when I attended Tom Bodkin's inaugural in 1908. I was, of course, present at my brother's inaugural in the Antient Concert Rooms in 1910; and at Ronayne's in 1911, before I joined the Society. I attended a couple of ordinary meetings during the 1911-12 session, but made no attempt to speak. The candidates for auditorship for the ensuing year were Arthur Cox and Jack Costello. I remember being canvassed by Costello for my vote; giving some evasive answer to the effect that I had not attended the Society's meetings often enough to judge which of them was the better speaker; and getting the characteristic reply that of course if that were the only matter that was to be considered I should vote for Cox. In the event I voted for Costello. One incident of this election is noteworthy. It was then the custom for the successful candidate to entertain his supporters to a 'spread' followed by a smoking concert; and the function was invariably a 'stag-party'. These, however, were the days of militant 'suffragettes' and hunger-strikers; and strong feminist feeling resulted sometimes in strange manifestations. On canvassing some of the lady members Cox was told, so report said, that they expected that the winning candidate, whoever he might be, would invite them to the tea, like every-

body else. The necessary guarantee was forthcoming and Cox, with the aid no doubt of the feminist vote, won handsomely. He invited the whole Society to his celebration in the Café Cairo; and in due course about half-a-dozen somewhat self-conscious young ladies turned up, complete with chaperon, to be left, I am sorry to say, to enjoy the proceedings largely on their own. The incident secured mention in the *National Student* (June, 1912), in the following piece of verse:

*The suffragette she goes to gaol,
She does not weep, she does not wail.
She merely says, when offered meat:
'If we mayn't vote we will not eat'.*

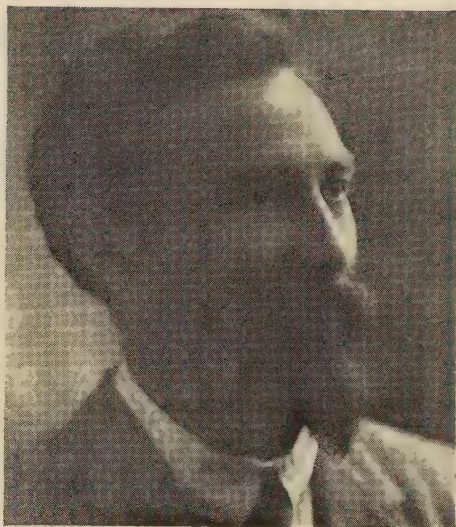
*The lady student pays a sub.,
And thinks it buys a lot of grub.
Hark to her stern commanding note:
'If we mayn't eat we will not vote'.*

Cox's cabinet was: Michael Ryan as record secretary, George O'Brien as correspondence secretary, and J. B. Magennis as treasurer. At the beginning of the session Tom Costello gave notice of intention to move a vote of censure upon the committee, with Michael Ryan apparently as the main object of attack. Ryan was then an engineering student and, enlisting the aid of the faculty, enrolled, as members of the Society, what his opponents described as a veritable horde of engineers to defend him. The motion was not proceeded with but the engineers remained. They took no part in the debates and constituted the large majority of speechless back-benchers. They were, however, well organised, regular in their attendance, and loyally supported Ryan in all eventualities; nor were they entirely silent in their support as the following quip by Eimar O'Duffy (after Lewis Carroll) in the *Student*, testified:

*He thought he saw a follower
Of some great mystic seer.*

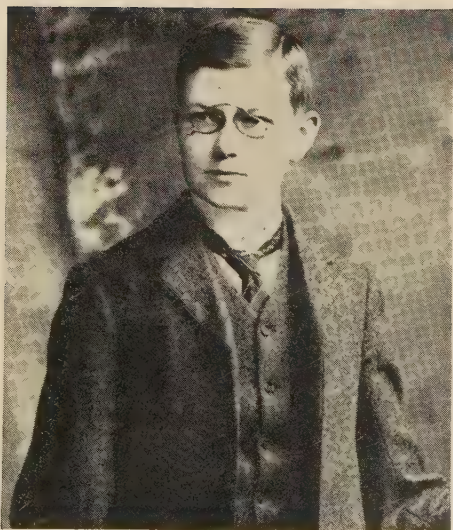
FRANCIS SKEFFINGTON

Auditor, 1897-98



HUGH KENNEDY

Auditor, 1900-01



THE NEW COLLEGE

*He looked again and found it was
A harmless engineer.
'They lead him by the nose', he said,
'And tell him when to cheer.'*

Sometime early in the session I broke silence myself and spoke upon the subject of *War and International Arbitration*. I never felt any great urge to express myself and, being very diffident, regarded the making of a speech as an onerous task. (I have changed far less in this respect than one might imagine). My first speech was a very moderate effort and I cannot recall making any better attempt during the year. I believe I spoke again once or twice. However it happened, I seem to have achieved some sort of standing in the Society; because at the end of the session, Jack Costello asked me to second his nomination for the auditorship which I did very ineptly (I think he pulled me down before my peroration); and I was myself proposed as a candidate for the committee and was successful. The other candidates for the auditorship were Michael Ryan, Alec Maguire and Jim Magennis. Ryan was elected Auditor by a large majority. I headed the poll for the committee with P. J. Nolan, J. R. MacDonnell, and J. Swayne in close attendance.

At the first committee meeting MacDonnell was elected record secretary, Nolan correspondence secretary, and Swayne treasurer. I remained as senior committeeman 'without portfolio'. A sub-committee consisting of Ryan, MacDonnell, and myself was appointed to look after the arrangements in connection with the inaugural meeting. In the autumn four committee meetings were held before the inaugural took place on November 7th, 1913, when Ryan read his paper entitled *The Healing Power of Freedom*. He had a difficult 'house' to deal with, the students at the back of the hall being more than usually (and senselessly) noisy; so much so that the *Student* (December 1913) commented that visitors must have thought that he was being refused a hearing on account of some personal ill-feeling. Such was, of course, very far from being the case, and nearly all the noise came from his own

supporters. His paper had to deal with the Home Rule situation, and he made a success of reading it under great difficulties. His platform included John Dillon, Tom Kettle, and Captain J. R. White, son of the general who commanded Ladysmith in the siege during the Boer War. In the course of his speech White remarked that if any attempt were made to coerce 'Ulster' he would be glad to offer his services to Sir Edward Carson as leader of a troop of 'irregular horse'. Kettle, who followed him, said that he was far more likely to find himself in charge of a troop of 'regular asses'.

The resolution proposed by John Dillon and seconded by Captain White, was: *That the best thanks of the Society are due to the Auditor for his address: and that his address be printed and published at the expense of the Society.* This was, I believe, the form of resolution common on such occasions in other similar societies; but in the Literary and Historical, the latter portion was without recent precedent. Inaugural meetings are, of course, attended largely by people who are not members of the society concerned; the resolutions are formal; they are never questioned, opposed, or sought to be amended; and are invariably passed *nem. con.* So it was with this one.

Ryan, MacDonnell, and I were, as the sub-committee deputed to look after arrangements for the inaugural, primarily responsible for the agenda and the form of the resolutions proposed. MacDonnell and I were, like the rest of the general committee, new to committee work in the Society; and we all were, I believe, blissfully unconscious of any departure from precedent in the phrasing of the resolution. The minutes of the four committee meetings held prior to the inaugural contain no reference to the matter and they are signed by Ryan as chairman without any mention of objection. In the interval between the inaugural and the first meeting of the Society on November 15th tongues were busy and there were rumours of impending trouble. At the committee meeting which preceded the ordinary meeting of the Society on that date, J. R. MacDonnell proposed: *That this committee formally reiterates its decision, at its meeting on October 21st, 1913, that the 58th Session be substituted instead of the 30th Session on the Society's programme and also that the*

Auditor's address be printed and published at the expense of the Society. The minutes of the meeting of October 21st contain no reference to the decision thus 'reiterated'. I proposed and Paddy Nolan seconded that the portion of the resolution relating to the Auditor's address should be deleted. This amendment was defeated and the original resolution passed as it stood. The stage was accordingly set for a first-class row and it was not long in coming.

At the general meeting which immediately ensued some of the veteran members were present and the committee's action with regard to the Auditor's address was by them and others reviewed unfavourably. Michael Davitt gave notice of intention to propose a vote of censure upon the committee at the next meeting, and Alec Maguire and Tom Costello also gave notice of intention to move motions dealing with the matter. During the following week both sides prepared for the fray and on November 22nd the Old Physics Theatre was packed. The vote of censure was proposed and debated in an atmosphere of tense excitement. When the motion was put, a division was called for. Everyone left the room except the two tellers, of whom I was one. I cannot remember who the other was. We counted the members voting for and against as they filed back into the room, but we could not agree on our tally. I made it that the Ayes had it by one vote, my count was forty-four to forty-three; while the other teller made it: Ayes forty-three, Noes forty-three. Midst scenes of increasing excitement another division was ordered and taken, and this time we agreed in our tally: Ayes forty-four; Noes forty-four. Ryan amidst the applause of his supporters and the jeers and protests of his opponents declared the motion lost. The other two motions standing in the names of Alec Maguire and Tom Costello were to the effect respectively: (1) that a resolution directing the expenditure of any of the Society's funds was *ultra vires* the power of those present at an inaugural meeting; and (2) that a committee of three be appointed to examine the whole matter. Ryan ruled that these were out of order and chaos then ensued. Members left their seats and crowded shouting round the table; Tom Costello was found to be standing

on it. I was standing behind Ryan, who remained seated, with my hands on his shoulders and I was told afterwards by some of my candid friends that they expected me at any moment to shift them to his throat. Nothing, needless to say, could have been further from my mind. Finally, amid universal clamour Ryan declared the meeting at an end. At the next meeting Alec Maguire proposed: *That the committee of this Society shall not in future submit any motion directing or authorising the expenditure of the money of the Society to the inaugural meeting of the Society.* MacDonnell proposed as an amendment the addendum: *except in so far as it refers to the printing and publishing of the Auditor's address.* This was seconded by Cecil Lavery and supported by Arthur Cox. On the amendment being put to the meeting, forty-nine voted for it and forty-nine against; and this time Ryan gave his casting vote in favour of the amendment and declared it carried. This was too much for his opponents to stomach and we all withdrew in righteous indignation to the 'Old Chapel' across the landing where we protested to our hearts' content. In our absence the motion, as so amended, was put to the meeting and carried unanimously. MacDonnell recorded no note of our protest or withdrawal in his minutes. In the *Student* of June 1914 Ryan, in his notes upon the Society's doings during the session, gave the incident a paragraph. It is quite characteristic and is worth quoting:

It is to be regretted that several members felt compelled to leave a meeting of the Society before Christmas as a protest against 'what they considered several illegal rulings on the part of the Auditor'. It is further to be regretted that in a famous letter to the world, in which they announced they had left the Society in a body, there appeared a portrait of the Auditor, not in oils but in pitch. Such a letter can only be ascribed to an eruption of feeling of a volcanic nature. But the volcano of protest is now extinct. Those who walked out through the front door of publicity have crept in through the back door of silence, and the past is forgotten in the hopes of the future.

Those who are sufficiently curious will find in the *Student* of April 1914 an impressionistic account of the incident entitled 'In the Limelight', from the pen of J. R. MacDonnell,

and in the issue of December 1913 a letter to the Editor which sets out the reasons for our protest. This is written by Joseph Doyle as secretary to the protest meeting and is the 'letter to the world' referred to by Ryan.

Yet another version was given by Eimar O'Duffy in the *Student*.

*Auditor Ryan the law defying
Thought his address should go to the Press.
Michael Davitt wouldn't have it.
'No personal feeling—but 'twasn't fair dealing.'
George Maguire, full of fire
And deep devotion, seconds the motion.
Meagher deprecated in language weighted:
''Twas such a pity to blame the Committee'.
The Secretary was fierce, Oh, very.
'I'll take the blame' says he 'and you the shame' says he.*

*Alec for principle stands invincible:
'The weight of the sin is not measured in guineas'.
Poor M. J., hard at bay,
Spite of protests twice the vote tests.
Cos on table—fearful Babel.
Ryan unheeding, on fury's border,
Rules proceeding out of order.*

Most of us did return after a short interval and resumed our normal activities with the Society without any comment being made that I can remember, so that Ryan's imagery is at least partially justified. The rest of his year of office passed in the normal way without any other untoward incident save the disappearance of the Society's box. This was a large wooden chest which was used to contain the Society's property including the minute-books, records, correspondence, voting papers and stationery. It was kept in the little room off the front hall of 86, used by the hall porter, George O'Callaghan and known as 'George's Bunk'. It suddenly disappeared and, after some weeks' absence, as mysteriously reappeared with

the contents intact. The outrage finds no mention in the minutes, though MacDonnell dealt with it, again in verse, in the *Student* (April 1914). The mystery of the purloined box was never solved and provided the Society with a minor sensation for a short while. The criminals were in fact myself and Frank Morrin. During the period of secession, with a dim recollection perhaps of what we had heard about the Cruise O'Brien incident and a desire to embarrass Ryan's administration, we took advantage one dark night of George's absence and, seizing the box, bore it quickly to Vincent's hospital where we deposited it in the Students' Room. Our action was purely spontaneous. The most noteworthy things about the incident are that we were not observed, by anyone who mattered, in our travels with the box to and fro along the Green; and that the students resident in Vincent's kept the matter to themselves.

Despite the storms which raged around him at the beginning Michael Ryan had a successful year of office. No fewer than thirty-nine different speakers addressed the Society in ten debates during the session; and private business of course flourished. Few of the speakers were veterans and most were newcomers. The most frequent were J. R. MacDonnell, James A. Meagher, Cecil Lavery, Theo. McWeeney and Eimar O'Duffy. MacDonnell won the gold medal and Meagher and Lavery were, I thought, rather unexpectedly outpointed by T. Fitzpatrick for the silver medal. Notable novices, having regard to subsequent events, were James Ryan, James McSparran and Kevin O'Higgins. O'Higgins made his first speech to a paper read by J. R. MacDonnell on Lloyd George. The chairmen for debates were drawn almost exclusively from the academic staff. They included Tom Kettle and Thomas MacDonagh.

J. R. MacDonnell succeeded Ryan as Auditor in the session 1914-15; and his cabinet included Cecil Lavery as senior committee-man and record secretary, Michael Binchy as correspondence secretary, and Norah Stuart as treasurer. Other societies in the city had their inaugurals as usual, including the Solicitors Apprentices' whose Auditor for the session was Alec Maguire. It is possible that MacDonnell would have had an inaugural but for what happened at the inaugural

meeting of the Medical Society. Dr. Coffey was ill, and in consequence the inaugurals of all societies save the Medical Society were postponed until after Christmas. The Medical Society held its meeting on November 12th, when Dr. 'Johnny' McArdle read a paper on *The Medical Profession in War Time*. In this he ventured to express the opinion that the evidence that German troops, apart from some individuals, had generally been guilty of atrocities in Belgium was not convincing. At this remark some of the students in the audience applauded, whereupon Thomas O'Shaughnessy, the then Recorder of Dublin, got up in high dudgeon and left the hall. He was to have proposed the usual vote of thanks to the reader of the paper. This task was accordingly undertaken by Dr. Cox, and in the course of his remarks he happened to mention the name of the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener. Someone started to hiss, others joined in, and there was some consequent disturbance. The President of the College of Surgeons, who was to have proposed the next resolution, thereupon got up and left and was followed by several more of the guests upon the platform. The incident was made the subject of a parliamentary question addressed to Mr. Birrell, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the House of Commons. After this performance all inaugurals were prohibited for the duration of the War. The Literary and Historical carried on as usual but about half-way through the session MacDonnell lost interest, and took the opportunity afforded by a trivial incident to resign from the auditorship. He ruled out of order some resolution standing in the names of Cecil Lavery and Frank MacCabe. They questioned his ruling, refusing to accept it until he heard them upon the point of order. He thereupon vacated the chair, withdrew from the room, and subsequently resigned his office. Michael Binchy, Gerald Maguire, and I were deputed by the Society to seek him out and urge him to reconsider his resignation but we did so without success. For the remainder of the year Lavery occupied the auditorial chair as senior committee-man and the Society concluded a successful session in which forty-seven different speakers, including very many newcomers, spoke in seventeen debates. Those who spoke most frequently

were May Hogan, Lavery, Meagher, Garrett McGrath, James O'Connor, Joe Mooney, Gerald Fogarty and myself. Lavery won the gold medal and Meagher the silver medal.

O'Connor was Auditor for the following session with Mooney as record and McGrath as correspondence secretary. This 'Old Belvedere' administration was consistently harried by Lavery, Meagher, O'Duffy, Binchy, Maguire, and myself, who almost succeeded in monopolising private business. Committees were censured and came and went. We had great fun, but the Society hardly benefited from our efforts. Forty different speakers addressed the Society in sixteen debates and most of the principal speakers of the previous year were again prominent. Newcomers who spoke frequently were Harry Briscoe, John Mullett, and Paddy Glynn, and another notable novice was Theo. Dillon. The minutes are silent as to the award of medals. Mooney succeeded O'Connor as Auditor but I attended very seldom during his period of office and 1917 saw the end of my connection with the Society.

During the last three years with which I have dealt, the Society flourished in numbers and there were plentiful harvests of speakers. I would not, however, describe them as vintage years. The subjects chosen for debate were no better or worse than those of other sessions but seldom yielded a discussion that was of vital or compelling interest; and the declining level of the ordinary debates led to the development of a disproportionate interest in private business. It is hard to ascribe a reason for this tendency; but somehow the general atmosphere seemed to discourage a serious approach to the subjects for debate; and lack of adequate preparation by many speakers led to a succession of uninteresting speeches. Those who were frequently dull or frivolous in debate could be serious and interesting enough in conversational discussion on the same subject. Perhaps the explanation was that the Society was too big and was suffering from the effects of overgrowth.

Of the speakers of my generation of whom I have made mention, Meagher was one of the most frequent and consistent. He was a solicitor's apprentice, but I cannot say if he spoke much in the apprentices' debates. He was fluent, had a good

sense of humour, and generally managed to be interesting. He liked to maintain a cosmopolitan citizen-of-the-world attitude and affected to regard any manifestation of nationalism as an international nuisance. He was interested in Esperanto. On one occasion he made a bet with O'Duffy that he would successfully deliver a speech in blank verse. He started off quite well but after some minutes began to falter when suddenly the gas went out and the room was plunged in darkness. There was momentary silence and then we heard Meagher's voice: 'Mr. Chairman, I cannot continue; something has gone wrong with the meter'.

O'Duffy was a dental student but took far more interest in politics and literature than in dentistry. He talked with an air of authority on Ibsen, Shaw, Tchekov, and the great Russian novelists. He was a great admirer of James Fintan Lalor. He had been at school in England and in consequence was, as he liked to describe himself, definitely pro-Irish. He was more at home with the written than the spoken word; but his speeches were usually stimulating as he aimed at being provocative, a quest in which he was materially assisted by what we considered to be a Stonyhurst accent. I can still see him with his small neat figure, humorous white face and sleek flaxen hair as, with *pince-nez* accentuating the almost insolent poise of his head, he delivered himself of some utterance calculated to shock the sensibilities of his audience.

Kevin O'Higgins spoke but rarely. I think he picked his subjects carefully. *That Ireland is over-educated; That Great Empires are destructive of the spirit of Nationality; That questions of War and Peace should be submitted to a Referendum; That the temporal power of the Church should be increased; That without conscription England cannot maintain her position as a world power; That the Gaelic League has not fulfilled its object; That constitutional agitation has been a failure in Ireland;* these were the only subjects on which he spoke, apart from the paper on Lloyd George which I have already mentioned. The minutes mention his name twice only in connection with private business. I cannot say that we noticed any indications of the stature which he was subsequently to achieve; we were

not on the look-out for them; but his matter was always good and his speeches showed evidence of preparation. He had already developed a characteristic pose, body relaxed and slightly stooped, right hand in pocket and notes in left hand, as with voice sometimes modulated at a pitch too low for the comfort of his audience, he methodically developed his argument with an occasional caustic comment on what someone else had said.

Mention of that debate on constitutional agitation reminds me that I also spoke in favour of the motion and criticised the policy of John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party, of which the chairman (Swift MacNeill) was a long-standing member. Having delivered myself I withdrew with a couple of cronies, probably O'Duffy and Gerald Maguire, to enjoy a quiet chat and smoke in 'George's bunk'. We returned during the chairman's closing speech to find MacNeill addressing James McSparran, who happened to be sitting directly facing him, in the belief that he was addressing his remarks to me; and severely taking him to task for the criticism in which I had seen fit to indulge. McSparran vainly tried to explain that: 'please, Sir, it wasn't me'; but those around him who were enjoying the joke refused to allow him and he was compelled to listen to a thorough 'telling-off' by the chairman.

J. R. MacDonnell was, I think, somewhat older and perhaps more mature than his contemporaries. He had been a clerical student and hailed from Newfoundland, a circumstance which he did not allow us to forget. He was a forceful speaker, somewhat impulsive, and often, I should think, spoke without preparation. He was, however, usually interesting and was a popular favourite. I suspect that, having developed other interests, he found the duties of Auditor irksome and that he himself engineered the occasion of his exit from the Society.

Cecil Lavery quickly developed into an able and ready speaker. He always knew what he wanted to say and said it clearly, concisely and emphatically. He was perhaps inclined occasionally to become didactic and to lecture the Society; but he was invariably, when speaking in ordinary debates, listened to with great attention and interest.

I would like to add, while on the matter of speakers, that

the most eloquent, sincere, moving, and altogether the best speech I heard from a chairman during my time in the Society was one by Arthur Clery on the subject of the Irish language. I was, perhaps, the better able to appreciate its worth as I disagreed with much of what he said.

I spent some of the happiest years of my life in University College and I have the Literary and Historical Society to thank, at least in part, for this. In connection with what I have written I have spent several hours of absorbing interest poring over the minute book which covers the period from 1906 to 1916; and the process has revived many happy memories of 'far off things and battles long ago'. I have said too much, perhaps, about rows and disputes of one kind or another but, if it were not for these, I am afraid that there is not much that I could have written about. We thoroughly enjoyed these rows. They helped us to knock the corners off one another and we were better for the treatment and no worse friends as a result. Many of those whose names I have mentioned have left us. They have indeed fallen like leaves in wintry weather. I do not think I would care now to retrace my steps of forty-four years ago and, mounting the stair-case, open the double-leafed door on the left of the landing. The room would look too much like that deserted banquet hall.

V.—CECIL LAVERY

THE ACTIVE CAREER OF A MEMBER in the L. & H. is short and seldom exceeds four or five years. In my case it was even shorter, as I joined the Society in May 1913, on the eve of the hotly contested election of M. J. Ryan, and ceased to be a regular attender at the meetings after June 1916.

This period has been covered by the President of the High Court (hereinafter called Cahir Davitt) but I feel that, adequate and mainly fair as his account is, I may be able to supplement it. His story seems to me to be coloured by his then environment, the influence of which curiously persists after all these years.

1913 was a year of change in the University and in the

Society. Most of the seniors were still 'Royal' men and 'Catholic University' men; and the Society was run by a *bloc* of them which, though it might have internal differences, hung together to oppose the new-comers. I suppose that every generation exhibits this phenomenon but during this period it was particularly strong. The core of this body was Clongownian but there were other classes, mainly Dubliners, in close association.

Davitt belonged to this body, not in his own right (he belonged to the younger age group), but through the introduction of his elder brother Michael who was one of its leaders. The election of 1913 resulted in the defeat of this group. The auditorship was to have been fought out between two leading members of the group, J. A. Costello and C. A. Maguire. They were *papabili*; and the Society was to choose. But Michael J. Ryan intervened. He had been a member of the Society and a committee-man for some years but he was also an engineer and the Society belonged to the legal and medical faculties—or, at least, so its leading members thought.

Ryan's electoral methods were vigorous: considerable numbers of engineering students who had heretofore taken no interest in the Society were induced to join and a strenuous campaign of canvassing was undertaken. As an instance, I, who had joined the Society for the express purpose of supporting one of the other candidates, changed my allegiance under the influence of Ryan's persistence and voted for him. There was no material consideration, I hasten to add; and I forbear to name the candidate who had my first promise. Anyhow, the poll resulted—Ryan, one hundred and thirteen; Costello, forty-four; Maguire, forty-two; and J. B. Magennis, ten. Magennis was of course, later the distinguished physician. The subsequent careers of the four candidates attest the quality of the leaders of the Society.

Ryan had later to form a cabinet of new men. Not yet himself a lawyer, he signed on three lawyers, J. R. MacDonnell, myself and Michael Binchy. Throughout the year we had to withstand constant attacks from the experienced parliamentarians who were now in opposition. Davitt has recounted some of these encounters.

Younger people today cannot easily picture the outlook on public affairs of the students of those days. Sinn Fein was then a very small organisation indeed. The body of students, as of the people, were Nationalists of one hue or another, but in the main Home Rulers. The Home Rule Act of 1914, if it had been brought into force then, would have been accepted by the people—the Die-hards excepted—and would, I believe, have satisfied most of them for the moment at least. The subsequent political development would have been ruled by the effect of the War and the fundamental changes thereby brought about. Some who today criticize the actors of the time are thinking backwards or, as is said, using hindsight.

These observations are not so irrelevant to my subject as they may appear because the atmosphere of the time is reflected in the subjects of debate and the papers read in the Society. Speaking at an inaugural of the Society some years ago I twitted M. J. Ryan that the title of his inaugural address had been *The Dawn on the Hills of Ireland*. He repudiated this and said that the title had been *The Healing Power of Freedom*. He was right of course: I had been thinking of Ronayne's inaugural some years before. Both of these flowery phrases, however, refer to the Home Rule Act. I observe from the minutes that on the 24th January, 1914, with Arthur Clery in the chair, a motion: *That a national language is essential for a true nation* was defeated. Another casual example of the trend of subjects debated is that on February 14th, 1914, with Professor Durack in the chair, a motion: *That the British occupation of India is detrimental to the best interests of that country*, was carried by twenty-six votes to eleven, to the natural indignation of the chairman, then on leave from his chair in an Indian University, who signified his displeasure by exceptionally hard marking of the speakers.

The War had, of course, serious repercussions in the Society. Many members joined the British Army in response to the appeal of John Redmond, sponsored by T. M. Kettle; and some of them were killed in France. The names of Bernard Reid, Ambrose Davoren, Tom Duggan and Frank O'Carroll occur to me. The Society, however, continued its activities

but the subjects for debate avoided the controversial. Typical subjects were: *That Ireland is over-educated*—rejected; or again *That Realism in modern Literature is to be deprecated*.

On this debate Professor Magennis was in the chair. Those who knew him will remember that while he was an interesting speaker on almost any subject, he was also lengthy. The minutes record: 'The chairman summed up the debate in a most interesting and instructive speech of some length'. They further record that 'a vote of thanks was succinctly proposed by Mr. Meagher, briefly seconded by Mr. Lavery, and passed by acclamation'. What they do not record but what I well remember is that, it being past eleven o'clock, the chairman's speech was accompanied by a vigorous ringing of the bell by George, outside the door. The only effect was to encourage the speaker to further efforts.

At the risk of being too personal, I must protest against Cahir Davitt's charge that I was inclined occasionally 'to lecture the Society'. No doubt I did so but, recalling the tone of the debates, including the speeches of the learned writer, I consider it unjust to single me out. In any case we learned a great deal in the Society. The warfare was mock and though there was sometimes a serious under-current, tempers were generally kept; and for a young man preparing himself for a career in public life or in the Courts, to learn to keep one's temper is a valuable lesson indeed.

I cannot suppose that these ramblings will have much interest, save perhaps to the few of my generation in the Society who survive: but this centenary record is, I take it, intended to present a survey of the Society and the picture as a whole should be of interest to every graduate and under-graduate now and to be of University College, Dublin.

Chapter IV.

CURFEW (1916-1923)

The period after Easter Week 1916 saw a progressive weakening of the position of the Irish Parliamentary Party. The first General Election for eight years was held in December 1918, shortly after the end of the European War. Of the 105 Irish seats at Westminster, 73 were won by Sinn Fein, 26 by Unionists and six by the Parliamentary Party. The first Dáil Eireann met in January 1919, and issued the Declaration of Independence. The Anglo-Irish struggle occupied the next two years. The truce, in July 1921, was followed by the Treaty in December. The Treaty was ratified, after long debate in the Council Chamber of the College, by a majority of seven votes, in January 1922. Fighting broke out at the end of June and continued until April 1923.

Many students were engaged in the fighting before 1921 and on either side in the Civil War. The L. & H. could not fail to be affected by these events. It is remarkable that it was able to continue its proceedings at all, especially in the period when the city was subjected to curfew regulations. A tribute is due to those who kept meetings going in such unpromising times.

I.—DERMOT F. GLEESON

I CAME TO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in 1913 and graduated in 1916, but remained on in the Four Courts until 1920. Over all that period I had associations with the L. & H. The period before 1916 must have been amongst the greatest years of the Society, as it was of the College. I was then a young under-graduate and, if I ventured into the Society's proceedings at all, it was only to hear from a quiet corner the talk of the great ones like Arthur Cox and Tommy Arkins or to

listen to their almost equally fabulous successors. Of these the memory of men like the late Michael Ryan, J. R. MacDonnell, Cecil Lavery, Joe Mooney, James McSparran and the tall, impressive figure of May Hogan is still with me. For myself 'in these great times remote' I was, in the words of the contemporary *National Student*, well described as one who:

*Wore no spats or silken wrapper
Just a little whipper-snapper
Just a little first-year bore
Merely that and nothing more.*

Indeed a lady student of the period, whom I met years later, told me that the one thing she remembered was that I wore boots a size too big for me. Trust the lady to remember that.

I have other even more enduring memories of great men who have since passed into history. Twice a week in the underground lecture room at the rear of 86, Thomas MacDonagh lectured us in English literature. We were young and few of us knew then the great things that were afoot; but when the Easter of 1916 had passed and we read James Stephens' noble lines:

*Be green upon their graves, O happy spring,
For they were young and eager who are dead;
Of all things that are bright and quivering
With eager life, be they remembered.*

—it was the thought of MacDonagh and his deep-set eyes which first brought us to an understanding of the new spring in Ireland. There was another also who, like MacDonagh, came occasionally to the L. & H. in those years—the great, simple, kindly figure of Douglas Hyde. When we are young we do not realise that if we live long enough the days of our youth will become history; we keep no diaries and we take no notes but, as one grows old, memories like these remain engraved upon the tablets of memory.

After 1916, I seem to have plucked up courage and got into

the main current of the L. & H. In the three years that followed I even took a modest part in its government. The Auditors for those years were Joe Mooney, Garrett McGrath and Frank Aird. I have very clear memories of all these three and since, alas, they are now dead, it may be worthwhile to record them. All three were distinctive personalities of great promise. Joe Mooney I remember best, if only because I knew him later when he was a junior on the Leinster circuit. He was one of the finest young men one could wish to see, tall, very dark and of commanding appearance. Intellectually outstanding, he had 'a way with him' which endeared him to the most exuberant spirits in the L. & H. of his time. Garrett McGrath was of equally distinctive appearance, though smaller in size. He had a head of classical proportions with hair always brushed smoothly back. If I remember rightly, serious illness curtailed his appearances in his auditorial year and was responsible for his early death. He also was of outstanding intellectual calibre and of very great promise—he made a distinguished figure in any company. Frank Aird was of a different but none the less attractive type. He has left to me, at all events, the memory of a quiet, rather delicate young man whose character impressed all who knew him, and who was elected Auditor not so much because he was a great popular figure but because we all felt that he would do credit to the Society and to the College.

Debates were held in the Old Physics Theatre in 86, now Newman House. They consisted then, as always, of private business presided over by the Auditor, followed by a set debate with an outside chairman. The private business usually consisted of attempts (often successful) to unseat the committee. Of their nature the proceedings in this session were occasionally riotous and interspersed with good-humoured and quite incredible slanders but were never really acrimonious.

The lady students in those days attended in flocks from the near-by hostels, but seldom spoke. James Hogan was one reason for this, if my memory serves me correctly. He remained silent, seated as far away as possible with a look of Robespierre about him, until one of them plucked up courage to speak. When she had spoken, James rose more in sorrow than in

anger and said that from time to time in that Society he had had to listen to a lot of unmitigated nonsense, but never in all his experience, etc., etc. He then dissected, destroyed and even atomised the lady's speech amidst boohs from the far side of the room. My colleague Dick Johnson expanded into Jabberwock verse on this in the *National Student* but the only line I can remember is—

Now who shall snate the Hoganate?

At the conclusion of the private business, the chairman for the evening arrived. The debates were then conducted on orderly lines. The speakers did not as a rule take themselves very seriously but a note of drama was sometimes introduced. One such occasion is very clear in my memory and, in the light of subsequent events, it was a historic one. The motion before the House was: *That constitutional agitation has been a failure in Ireland.* The date, it may be added, was February 4th, 1916. The chairman for the evening was Swift MacNeill, then a member of the Irish Party and our Professor of Constitutional Law. The proposer of the motion was the late Kevin O'Higgins. Those of us who knew him well, as law students, had not up to that time suspected the hidden fire concealed beneath the quiet and somewhat retiring exterior. I can still remember him standing up that night with a sheaf of notes in his hand and beginning to speak to the motion with a quiet intensity and sincerity which quickly reduced the audience to complete silence. It was quite a remarkable scene. Here was the young man showing, both in what he said and in his manner of saying it, the outline which in a short time was to become, in the Churchillian phrase in his regard, 'a figure out of antiquity cast in bronze'. On the other side of the table was the genial white-haired veteran of the House of Commons, with all his memories bound up in the constitutional agitation of the past generation and yet perhaps with the ashes of the fiery days of Parnell, Biggar and the Land War still remaining. As O'Higgins went on and his quiet, intense and inspiring words, obviously spoken *ex abundantia cordis*, brought rounds

of applause from his youthful audience, the old chairman twisted and turned in his chair and finally turned to me and said: 'Who is this young man?' I told him, adding that he was a law student. Of the remainder of that debate I have little memory but at the end the chairman spoke with great kindness and feeling of O'Higgins' speech. He said that when he also was young, he had felt and spoken as the speaker but, as the years advanced, his fire had declined and he had come to see that violence even in a good cause had brought evil in its train. It was the old conflict of youth and age in Ireland which commenced with Thomas Davis. Its next chapter was written in the December of 1918, when the old Party was swept out of existence at the General Election and the young men (including Kevin O'Higgins), began a new day.

In that election the L. & H. played a part. One Friday afternoon, in December 1918, a number of us were seated in the old restaurant in Earlsfort Terrace. There entered 'Min' Ryan, now Mrs. Richard Mulcahy. She came from the Sinn Fein Director of Elections at 6 Harcourt Street—the late James O'Mara—and she asked for volunteers to go to East Mayo for the week-end to speak for Mr. de Valera. After some discussion, four of us decided to go—Cahir Davitt, Cecil Lavery, Leo McCauley and myself. McCauley and I set out from the Broadstone on the Saturday evening. Neither of us had been in Connacht before. We were told to go to Swinford but found that the nearest our train went to it was Foxford, so we wired to Swinford and hoped for the best. We transferred at Athlone to a train lit with oil lamps and filled with women with hens in baskets. McCauley, who was a classical scholar, found a kindred spirit in a little parson and they engaged in talk about Latin hexameters and such like. I can still remember the parson's horror when he was told that we had come down to electioneer for Sinn Fein. He seemed to think that we might have bombs in our pocket. We arrived at Foxford knowing neither the place nor anyone in it at about nine o'clock on a winter night; but we were greeted on the platform by one of the finest characters I have ever had the good fortune to meet—the local doctor, the late Frank Ferran, T.D. He drove us to his

house, brought us through the kitchen into the hall: there, standing on a chair in the porch was Davitt addressing a large company of Mayomen, many in bawneens, by the light of blazing sods of turf held up on pitch-forks. Within five minutes of our arrival McCauley and I found ourselves in succession on the chair and in the thick of the fray. Our experience in the L. & H. stood us in good stead here and over the week-end. What we said I do not know but the Mayomen seemed to like it and, though the opposition—led by the much respected and formidable figure of John Dillon, M.P.—was strong, our man had an easy victory in the end.

Many members of the L. & H. in those years, 1917-19, besides those already referred to, subsequently became well-known figures in Irish life. Lacking the minutes for those years, it is not easy to recall them all; but Tommy McLaughlin, of Shannon Scheme fame, was certainly on the committee at one time, while I seem to remember that the quiet figure of J. J. Drumm came occasionally to the debates. Harry Briscoe and Theo. Dillon also figured prominently in the proceedings of those years. I still have a hastily-made sketch of Grattan Esmonde declaiming from behind a supercilious monocle that President Wilson 'was the apostle of moral platitudes'. The imperturbable John Foley of Carlow was one of the more solid props of commonsense that we possessed in those exciting times. Standing one day on the steps of 86, he observed one of our more excitable brethren darting out of the Students' Room and taking a quick look up and down the Green, as if on the look-out for 'G'-men who might be in waiting, at the same time holding one hand in his pocket in the approved western style—it was probably grasping a pipe. Placing a large hand on his shoulder and pointing to two passing pantehnicons, John Foley said: 'The revolution has broken out—see, they are removing the women and children to a place of safety'.

These random memories will give little impression of the place held by the L. & H. in the life of University College nearly forty years ago. It was then the leading College society as I am sure it still is. If we who were then members did not

take ourselves too seriously, I feel that that was all for the good. The private business, which often took an apparently serious turn, made us, in Bacon's phrase, 'ready men'. The set debates enabled us to develop the training in elocution for which there was then time in the secondary schools but which seems to be neglected now. It gave us at least a certain confidence and assurance in ourselves when we got to our feet, the lack of which is sometimes a very serious handicap. I think it taught us conciseness and the danger of sententiousness. There was little mercy to be expected from the L. & H. audience; if you said something foolish or overstayed your time, you were told so in no uncertain manner; but, most of all, it gave us good fellowship, pleasant memories of youth and friendships which in many cases have happily endured during all the years that have followed. To many of us, who were drawn at a critical stage of our life from quiet places in the country into the full current of life in the University and in the city, this was the most valuable gift of all.

II.—JOHN FARRELL

WITH THE WORLD WAR thundering to a close, Frank Aird, quiet, calm and gentle, was Auditor. At the time many Irish men and women were still in English jails and internment camps. Easter 1916 was fresh in memory with the havoc of fire still to be seen in the streets of Dublin; and added bitterness, with a significant increase in determination, had followed the fight against conscription. In the circumstances, when Armistice came in Europe and disillusioned men came back to Ireland and some of them found their way into the L. & H., they might have well been surprised at their reception, for the time had not yet come when every returned soldier of the British Army was, of necessity, an object of suspicion. The nation's striving had not yet clearly developed into warfare and the country, the College, and the L. & H. accepted at face value these men of Ireland back from France. On Saturday nights in the Society might be seen a veteran of two or three

years' service with the British on the best of terms with the more advanced Republicans or, later in the year, an American ex-soldier talking academically and well of the 'rights of man', including *homo Hibernicus*, but distrusting alike all Republicans and Democrats and firmly enamoured of limited monarchies.

Interesting nights they were at the time and, occasionally, we saw and heard some giant of an antiquity stretching back nearly a year or two. One of the greatest of these, classical Leo T. McCauley, most modern of ambassadors today, introduced me to the L. & H. though previously, as a schoolboy, I had suffered patiently enthusiasm on the subject from Garrett McGrath and Jack Hurley, an Auditor and a committee-man of an earlier year. Sometimes, on important occasions when Leo T. graced the Society with his kindly, charming, presence, there was with him Paddy McGilligan, a cagey lion in his own right. Once or twice my present colleague, T. G. O'Sullivan, showed effectively how the Solicitors Apprentices' Debating Society got its peculiar results and other times Bob Davitt was there, accompanied by one or other of the 'Two Franks', Frank O'Grady and Frank Power, prototypes of 'Layton and Johnson' and every bit as good. More rarely still we heard James Hogan, who by then was deeply engaged in the Volunteer movement. John V. Joyce and Tommy McLaughlin, prophetically known as 'Field Marshal' and 'Superman' respectively, also showed up now and again but said very little.

After a while Frank Aird appeared but rarely and in his absence the senior committee-man usually took the chair at private business, and the group over whom he presided was as heterogeneous as any in the history of the Society; but he handled and, sometimes, man-handled them with gentle ferocity. For many moons this queer performance they called private business was a mystery to me. So far as I could see there was nothing in the very least private about it and it was nobody's business; but it gradually was made perfectly clear that what I had taken to be a very respectable and law-abiding committee was nothing of the sort. Just the same I never quite made up my mind, as the bulk of the opposition apparently had, that Dan Binchy or Leo T. or even my colleague, Dermot Gleeson,

ought to be hanged, drawn and quartered. I was in no doubt at all about Bob Davitt because we had played Rugby together and I would have been interested to see how he would have dealt with such a situation.

In the public debates, things were entirely different. Nobody ever questioned the standing or repute of the visiting chairman and the matter to be discussed was taken very seriously. On very rare occasions the subject for debate might have a faintly literary or historical tinge but by far the greater number of evenings was devoted to things political or national. 'Sinn Fein or Home Rule' was touched upon but had become largely academic. Constitutional Monarchy as against Republicanism had a mild vogue but most discussions tended to drift into the old argument between the advocates of constitutional political agitation and those of physical force. It seems a little remarkable now, but it was accepted as a matter of course at the time, that none of the speakers ever showed the slightest sign of reticence or inhibition on any subject, however combustible. 'Curiouser and curiouser' as Alice would say, complete and absolute tolerance prevailed.

Of others among the speakers not already mentioned, many of those who first excited my youthful envy and admiration were last frontiersmen of the Irish Party. John Hearne, near the close of a brilliant association with the L. & H., was silver-tongued if anyone ever was but, while he was on the point of leaving us, James Dillon, *enfant terrible* of all times, was beginning to arrive and even then was an egg enthusiast. Night after night he hurled egg after egg at the Belfast shipyards until he made it perfectly clear that the production of a single egg was of more value to the community than the building of a liner or a battleship. Unhappily John and James were invariably on the same side of any controversy. Another who attended fairly regularly in those days was Thomas J. Coyne who, attractive and intriguing in public debate, gave promise of mental achievements vaguely after Thomas à Kempis or Thomas Aquinas, but in private business a hint of Machiavelli was to be noticed. All in all, his brand of Thomism fairly foreshadowed the distinguished Secretary of the Department of Justice of today.

By the end of 1918, the issue between Ireland and Britain had become perfectly plain and apparently decisions had been taken on both sides. It was to be war. Very soon in the new year raids and minor skirmishes began to be commonplace. The first Dáil Éireann assembled in the Mansion House and began to perform the ordinary functions of an established government. The British retaliated in many different ways and perhaps the most noticeable and objectionable was by the imposition of a curfew. The hours of curfew varied from time to time but any curfew at all added to the difficulties of the time and, of course, made it very awkward for the Saturday meetings in the L. & H. Our activities were somewhat cramped but, to the end of the academic year, we were guided aright and Dan Binchy was elected Auditor for the coming year.

Of the previous committee only Osmond Grattan Esmonde remained and he attended rarely, being a great deal abroad in those days as, I think, a representative of Sinn Féin. A graceful and gracious speaker, he was a delight to hear and, indeed, to gaze upon but his infrequent visits were of little assistance to the Auditor, who, therefore, had to rely on the newcomers. Niall MacNeill was then correspondence secretary and, nowadays, I begin to doubt whether he was eligible for such a post, having regard to the traditions of the Society. You see, Niall wrote an excellent hand and was an exact speller. G. P. S. Hogan, affectionately known as 'Sars', could sell a dummy as well in private business as at Lansdowne Road and did not seem to care very much to which side he sold it. Those two, with T. G. Burke, another colleague of mine today, were Dan Binchy's stalwarts and as I, also, was on the committee, it will be assumed I am prejudiced when I say that was the second best committee the L. & H. ever had and that Dan Binchy must rank very high among the very best of Auditors. However, in the previous year he had given us a great deal of his time during a crucial period and, coming into 1920, he seemed more and more submerged in the ink of the *National Student* until early in that year I found myself, as senior committee-man, struggling along with that excellent committee and the most devastating and helpful opposition from James Dillon.

Back in the Society at the time was James Skehan, and I never could discover whether he was in opposition or not, whether on the committee or not, but I can still recall the opening words of every speech he ever made—‘Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I love the ladies’. What he said after that did not matter a bit. Nearly half the audience was with him anyhow and the other half usually divided. I am as certain now as of anything that James Skehan really did love the ladies as he loved everyone and everything. In all his days, destined to be far too few, he never said a harsh or unkind thing about any opponent, no matter how gross or deliberate the provocation. He was at the time a medical student but some years later was ordained a priest and has long since gone to his reward. For me he was the prototype of all that was best in the spirit of the Society which helped, perhaps, to bring out his good-humoured and generous nature.

From early in that year Ireland was engaged in open warfare. Raids and ambushes were of everyday occurrence in the streets of the city. Earlsfort Terrace and 86 did not escape the attentions of the British forces and many a student and many a member of the L. & H. was ‘on the run’ but the Society continued strong in numbers and enthusiasm. How, when, or in what circumstances, we began to hold our gatherings in the *Aula Maxima*, I do not remember but the many crowded meetings held there must speak for themselves. It was in the *Aula Maxima*, too, we had one infamous election for the Society’s representative on the S.R.C. I think it was the doing of Leo T. McCauley, taking time off from the classics to throw spanners in the works. Certainly it was on his proposal that the election took place by acclamation which had the advantage over the old-fashioned secret ballot that it was so noisy it was bound to be secret. The two candidates were obliged to address the constituency and indicate a policy if elected. The first to speak, a most scholarly man, took considerable trouble, care and about half-an-hour, which was about twenty-five minutes more than the constituency was prepared to tolerate, in explaining all the desirable reforms in curriculum and syllabus his hearers might expect if he were successful.

It seems that the electorate must have been inclined to fear he might be right, for the other candidate was elected, having taken very few minutes to explain his fixed belief that billiard rooms and a swimming pool were necessary as a relaxation after nap and pontoon in the basement in Earlsfort Terrace and ought to be provided there by the authorities.

When the Auditor was not present, many of our committee meetings took place in the card room in that very basement. Whether on the committee or not at the time, James Dillon usually made all the arrangements and, invariably, had me for his partner at Bridge, because I was amenable and long-suffering. Niall MacNeill was frequently one of the company and sometimes we had Sars Hogan, Joe Dungan or Seán MacBride. The affairs of the L. & H. were not neglected and the voting strength of that committee was not at all impaired by the choice of venue. At other tables were other games in progress and not infrequent visitors were Paddy Sheridan, not the respected warden of today but the 'Baby Elephant' of our youth, Christopher (Tod) Andrews, Pierse Hurley and Matt Peppard. On many occasions Bert Earle, with or without provocation, sang the 'Prologue' from *Pagliacci*. They were of every faculty except Arts or Law, which had, in those days, to accept the odium and responsibility for most of the committee of the L. & H.; but just the same those basement men were normally supporters of authority—in the Society. On one occasion, indeed, when one of my present colleagues had to be expunged from the record at private business it was Paddy Sheridan, sergeant-at-arms *ad hoc*, who expunged him. There was a day, either in that year or the following, when that basement was invaded by British forces and our Bridge was interrupted by men in uniform who would, no doubt, have been well content to get their hands on Niall MacNeill or Seán MacBride. Not unduly brusquely they shepherded us up the stairs and into the centre hall where we sat down on the tiles and went on with the game. James Dillon cut the cards for Niall, who dealt first to Seán, while the enemy looked on.

I became Auditor for the session 1920-21, and although

Niall MacNeill was no longer very active in the Society, I had the assistance of the best committee of all time. It included James Dillon and Seán MacBride and clearly foreshadowed inter-party ideas of later years. James was treasurer and Joe Dungan was record secretary with Gerald Long looking after the correspondence. The last two have long since joined the great majority and to them the Society owes a tribute for the work they did in that particular year. In retrospect those days were far more terrible than they seemed at the time, but while the normal cheerful confidence of the College and the L. & H. reflected that of the people of Ireland, there were dreadful days of gloom when confidence might have been shaken. They must have been very worrying days for the College authorities, too. It seems to me that in the past the Society had been silenced with far less reason or excuse and we rather expected something of the kind to happen but, maybe, the authorities were wiser than we or than we thought. The L. & H. was not proscribed but, as in previous years, there was no inaugural meeting.

In the opening weeks of that session, 1920-21, the membership of the L. & H. included Frank Flood; and Kevin Barry had, I think, been an occasional visitor. They were both well known to the members and both were my friends. Within a few short months both were dead in the fight for freedom and soldiers more gentle of nature or kindly of disposition no country ever mourned or mourned more deeply, even in times apparently dedicated to death and mourning. Such was the condition of affairs that, to the end of the year, ambushes were of almost daily occurrence in the streets of Dublin, as well as British raids by day and night. Prisoners accumulated in British hands but the enemies of England multiplied until, at last, behind the national effort was a certain conviction of final triumph as the people remained calm in the grip of a reign of terror. In spite of curfew and other provocations in the guise of military law, people went quietly about their private affairs as well as the national work and, all the time, the spirit outside was reflected within the L. & H.

During that fateful period, the L. & H. went through more

difficult times than ever but had never before been as stout of heart. During February and March 1921 we had curfew at its worst when the hours were from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m., and we had to consider seriously the discontinuance of the Saturday night meetings but, fortunately, decided otherwise. It was hard to do very much when meetings had to end not later than eight o'clock and, again, I think a tribute is due to the College authorities that no attempt was made to coerce us and the 'talking shop' kept open. Oratory and debate were rather at a discount and we concerned ourselves little with things literary but we kept going. Getting home after curfew, after minutes of hiding in a doorway in O'Connell Street or behind the wall of Binn's Bridge in Drumcondra as Black and Tan lorries rolled by, was an unpleasant but very small price to pay for the continuance of our activities in the Society and all the activities of less turbulent years were carried on in however modest a way.

Besides the ordinary Saturday night debates, we had a few inter-debates with the law students of King's Inns and the Four Courts. There we sometimes encountered speakers who had learned the hard way in the L. & H. We sent a team to Liverpool another time and we even discussed 'Self-government as opposed to Crown Colony status' with Trinity and Queen's in Belfast, where James Dillon did most of the talking. Naturally during those years we also had occasional impromptu debates and it must be some sort of a tribute to the late Michael Ryan, ex-Auditor and distinguished Senior Counsel, that I still remember some of the posers he propounded. For instance, what could anyone do with: *That President Wilson is better at making points than scoring goals* or: *That winter-gardens are a source of 'good health'*? Well, I dare say, we did our best and as well as the propositions deserved. Besides, if Michael Ryan was the perpetrator that time, I was the perpetrator of the only paper read in the Society during those days. It was on Gilbert and Sullivan. It did not neglect the obvious capital of a political kind to be made out of *Utopia Limited*, which was under a tacit ban at the time. It had one merit anyhow. It was so short that we were able to have an impromptu concert

of which Gerald Long's *Dark Rosaleen* was the highlight. I have a vague recollection of John Mowbray contributing something to the harmony, which was a change. Up to then, being a particularly ruthless and mordant member of the opposition, he had only contributed to the discord. Still thinking of the concert, let me put it on record that John was an excellent speaker.

Bringing these recollections to a fitting close with 'the good wine' there is something to be said of the importance and standing of the lady students of the L. & H. in the period. Quite a few years had passed since the question of their eligibility for membership had been decided and it is now a matter of history that they settled it themselves the night the vote was taken whether they should have the franchise or no. In other spheres outside the College, women were taking an ever-increasing share in matters of moment and from time to time and on important occasions L. & H. members were to be seen in the uniform of *Cumann na mBan*, but the courage and enterprise displayed outside were not yet very marked in the L. & H.

With important exceptions the ladies still remained the silent sex. Before my time one distinguished lady, Mary Hogan, had achieved Olympian heights by reaching the committee table and others have done so since but, in general, it was hard to get them to say a few words though they were 'keen' on private business and on one or two of the committee. Of the daring few who talked, Celia Shaw was the *doyenne*. Dolly Clery and, later, Molly Finnegan occasionally gave us something to think about but Celia Shaw was more than willing and able to deal, in no uncertain manner, with James Dillon himself had he not been wily enough to be always on her side.

One dreadful confession I must make and then I am done. We had an L. & H. picnic. The idea came I know not whence but it came and we went—to Lucan. Somehow I seem to associate that calamity with Molly Finnegan but I could be wrong. Indeed I think the 'Three Disgraces', most charming trio that ever graced the Society, had something to do with it but I have no evidence. Anyhow we went to Lucan, one

or two of the committee fell in or out of love again and an ordinary member, a very ordinary member, fell into the river. If that picnic was not exactly a failure, it was no picnic for the Auditor and committee and might, with discretion, have been omitted from these notes but that it achieved a measure of immortality which cannot be escaped from the report in the *National Student*—shades of Dan Binchy—by the Sporting Correspondent.

So, recollecting a myriad friends of those days and no single enemy, I think of the L. & H. not merely as a haven of harmonious discord but as a slow mill grinding the excellent grain while the chaff flies merrily around. Back, once or twice in each decade, I shall hope to go and see no change.

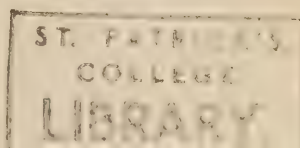
III.—JOHN MOWBRAY

WHEN ONE CONSIDERS that this period covers the War of Independence, the Civil War and the partitioning of the country, it does seem a bit queer to choose a writer born in New York, educated in the North and fully indoctrinated by family and tradition in the constitutional approach of the Irish Nationalist Party. As I look back on that young medical student laying down the law to a Society formed mainly of law students and of those who would have been described as lawless by the College and military authorities, I see him as the innocent abroad. How innocent did not emerge for many years afterwards.

Although to lie on one's stomach in Harcourt Street while bullets pinged around and to experience that sinking feeling when the rumbling of a military lorry suddenly ceased, did keep one apprised of the fact that there was trouble about, it made no serious impact on the outward life of the College and still less on the proceedings of the L. & H. This is not to be wondered at as one does not usually bring a revolver to a debating society and very few people would express rebellious sentiments in such a public place in 1920. The expression of student opinion was to be found either in the pages of the *National*

Student or in the secret conclaves of the S.R.C., which had co-opted a representative of the I.R.A. from each faculty. An article entitled 'Resurgamus' in the *National Student* of March 1919, called in no uncertain terms on the students and the S.R.C. to defy the forces of West Britonism in the University and, although that is the last open manifesto of rebellion, there are many half-concealed references on the same theme in subsequent issues. It is significant that the same number which carried 'Resurgamus', also carried an article on the decline and fall of the L. & H., bemoaning the cancerous growth of private business which had caused the death of public debate. It was during this session, 1919-20, that the L. & H. heard a full-dress debate on force. A young Egyptian had been invited to address the Society, which he did with all the persuasiveness of a Levantine trader—the burden of his song being an Irish-Egyptian union against British imperialism. John Dowling advocated the use of force with conviction and fortitude. John Hearne had an oratorical triumph, and James Dillon made his first big effort, amid hostile interruptions, defending the Irish Party, his father's reputation, and the cause of peaceful and constitutional reform.

It is perhaps difficult at this remove of time, to appreciate the difficulties of the authorities, whose prime responsibility was to prevent publicity for the students' views on current events or any occasion which might provoke the British authorities to close down the College. It was enough that two members of the staff, Thomas MacDonagh and Michael Hayes, had been 1916 men and that the harmless-looking and soft-spoken Arthur Clery was a doctrinaire republican. Very few suspected that Hugh Ryan, Professor of Chemistry, whose conveyor-belt of abstruse chemical equations revolving slowly before the students' gaze to the accompaniment of a professorial drone had such a soothing and almost soporific effect, was also one of the strongest inspirations of the republican ideal among students of all faculties. In fact on one occasion, in spite of numerous interruptions from a British Tommy, whose party wanted to search the class, a marathon lecture of one-and-a-half hours was given during which time those most eagerly sought after,



including Fintan Lalor of the Dublin Brigade, slipped away.

It was in this situation that the great gifts of compromise of the President, Dr. Denis Coffey, had their finest hour. He was put to his hardest test when the places in the examination hall of two candidates for the final medical, who happened to be in jail, were taken by two other members of the I.R.A. On being discovered by the supervisor they were brought before the President whose homily on the seriousness of their conduct was interrupted by the production of a revolver. The curtain for this scene rings down on Dr. Coffey shaking hands with the two impersonators on the front steps, thanking them for coming. Diplomacy and tact had scored again. When later on, in 1925, he wanted someone to represent the medical student body at the opening of the Gates of Remembrance for the doctors who fell in the Great War, at the new B.M.A. buildings in Tavistock Square, his uncanny knowledge of College life told him that I would be the one to choose at that particular phase.

The event which did more than any other towards influencing students in the direction of the republican idea, and which produced a wave of intense anti-English feeling, was the execution of Kevin Barry, one of our own second medicals, on Monday morning, November 1st, 1920. As we stood around, numbed with the shock of it, the Castle authorities gave further proof of their complete failure to understand the Irish mind by sending their Auxiliaries to the College to institute a gigantic search for arms and incriminating documents. As my class of first year medicals was lined up in the dining hall to await searching, I was amazed to see boys, whom I regarded as harmless callow youths, produce massive revolvers and sheafs of papers and hand them to even less guileful waitresses, who were, of course, members of the College *Cumann na mBan*. A large part of my hereditary attachments to parliamentary methods drained away from me and completely forsook many others on that morning, which had its counterpart very soon after, when another student, Frank Flood, showed us on the gallows that freedom was worth fighting for.

To those who have been impatiently awaiting a record of some

of the activities of the L. & H. during this historic period, it must be explained that, apart from the reasons already given for the failure of the Society to reflect the feelings of the country and indeed of the College, the minutes were either regarded by some one as too trashy to be kept or too priceless to be shared, or, to those who know the general material of private business, the other explanation that they carried within themselves the ingredients for spontaneous combustion may carry greater weight. In any case the minutes for these years have completely and utterly disappeared and the fickle jade at my elbow must be blamed for the gaps which many will find in this account.

Among the few to whom she has remained faithful there is that wonderful figure from the deep North, Joe McCambridge, whose Glens of Antrim accent and dialect were sufficient to put 'house full' notices, metaphorically of course, on the doors of that smoke-laden Physics Theatre in 86, where the ladies and the serious listeners occupied those hard wooden benches while that integral and vital part of the Society, the mob, occupied the standing room between the Auditor's table and the door. The highest tributes that could be paid to a speaker, that no evening papers were blatantly read during his speech and that the thirsty rush to get a knee into the closing doors of neighbouring taverns did not take place until its conclusion, were always accorded this dynamic speaker. He was my faithful ally in denouncing the new republicanism and shared with me also the proper humorous attitude on all the serious topics of the day.

The baiting of Johnny Belton by Michael Roche produced oratorical threats and towering rages which were apparently the necessary catharsis for a future ambassador. I can still hear the Disraelian barbs of the Roche *banderillero* and the taurine bellows of his well-loved adversary, and still marvel at the wonderful spirit of the L. & H. shown in the spectacle of those two bitter antagonists joking their way homewards as only real friends could. One of their frequent conspiracies was for one to propose the other for the committee and then at the next meeting move a vote of censure against him on the grounds of incompetence, dishonesty and indeed every crime in

the calendar. On one occasion when Roche was secretary, Belton, without any warning, proposed that the next minutes should be written in verse as the chairman of the night was to be W. B. Yeats. This Michael did in the Byronic style of *Childe Harold*. Indeed if the minutes of this period are ever recovered it will be found that versification and even vice-versification were accomplishments of several secretaries.

With the truce in 1921, the custody of the tongue, heretofore proper and prudent, was no longer necessary and the flood gates of nationalistic oratory were thrown right open, too soon to be muddied by the bitterness of the Civil War in June 1922. The voice that comes clearest to me over the years is that of The O'Rahilly, who had all the requirements of the patriot speaker, the head, the height, and the clarion call. It was a pleasure metaphorically to write rude remarks between the lines of his passionate manifestoes. James Ennis was and is one of those gentle but very determined people who had very strong views on the independence of Ireland. He could always be relied on to talk slowly, solemnly, seriously and sincerely about the idea of an Irish Republic and was a perfect foil for the rapier wits who waged guerrilla warfare on his massed battalions. Then there was Gerry Long who had a large female following in the Society. Besides having a head of golden hair, which by accident or design fell down over his forehead in the heat of debate, he had a reasoned approach which is so often admired in men by that, on the whole, irrational sex—which brings one inevitably to the women.

Under the auditorship of David Travers and contrasting oddly with the virility of his blue-black jaw line and bushy eyebrows were his chief officers, Anna Boland, Alice White and Kathleen O'Donnell. Anna, whose guileful but apparently guileless treble concealed a clear brain and an infiltrating determination; Alice, who should have lived in the days when Shakespeare's Boy Players took parts like Ophelia. How well she would have impersonated one! And laughing her way through all our meetings was Maureen, Maureen Buckley, who has left a memory of laughing vitality and of that searching look in her eyes which set insincerity scuttling.

The L. & H., with all its masculine temptation and rowdiness was not considered out of bounds for the ladies from the hostelrys as they were wrongly designated. Many a speech received its true inspiration from limpid eyes which seemed to the speaker filled with rapt admiration, but were probably only reflecting girlish thoughts of some 'Plumber' whose longest speech consisted of 'What are you doing tonight?' Whatever pleasure they brought to the meetings was drowned in the flood of irritation produced by their monotonously regular and noisy departure on the stroke of 9 p.m. when, as if impelled by some instinct akin to the migrating bird, they departed with a simultaneous swish of skirts, impervious to the jeers and cat-calls of the 'boys' they left behind them. I firmly believe that they would have left in the middle of Mark Antony's speech if it happened to pass the fateful hour. Experienced speakers always took care not to be on their feet during this exodus and, on the one and only occasion I miscalculated, I nearly, but not quite, made them resume their seats by saying that their departure was providential as what I had to say next was only fit for adult ears. They are still subject to this curfew which has been advanced a little during the last century. The next centenary history may not refer to it.

After my maiden effort in private business I was approached in Cecilia Street by the Auditor, James Skehan, and urged to administer a verbal spanking to one Celia Shaw, who had been making the lives of both himself and his committee relatively miserable. He felt that if a mere tyro could make a successful attack, her *amour propre* would receive a deadly wound from which she might not recover. I damned her, not with faint but with unreserved praise, for her courage in breaking free from the trammels of polite womanhood as ordinarily understood. The Auditor remained thereafter a great friend, so, strangely enough, as are the ways of women and the L. & H., did Celia. This sort of subterfuge was typical of James who audited the L. & H. as a Toscanini controlling an orchestra. The only thing that ever extinguished him was a minimax, which in fact proved devastating in the hands of Sarsfield Hogan who scored a bull's eye without malice one evening for no reason at all.

Sarsfield divided himself between the L. & H. and the S.R.C. In both places his sweet reasonableness were assets badly needed and genuinely respected.

The same minimax with, of course, a refill is the strange connecting link between the then President of the S.R.C. and the present Minister for Agriculture who, having been extinguished himself by a motion that he be no longer heard, stalked out with great dignity only to return with an even better extinguisher which he aimed at the Auditor and the committee and anyone else he did not like. It was difficult at times to say, so intimate was the marriage between mind and speech, whether he had a command of language or language a command of him or whether they had then reached their present perfect harmony. He made only one mistake and that was when he was prevailed upon to return to the Society for a debate after he had left the College for a year or two. The passage of that short time proved that the day of didactic oratory was over and that the cheap republican epithet of 'sunburstery' had killed its power.

This facility for speaking fluently on any subject with or without preparation was shared by Dillon's successor, J. C. Flood. As this singular person who always had to be first will probably be no more able to keep the first person singular out of his contribution than the writer, it must suffice to mention only one incident. He had treated his rapt listeners to a graphic description of the failure of the British attack on Hill 60 and after a suitable pause had said slowly and in lowered tones 'I saw it from an aeroplane'. He will probably find it difficult ever to forgive Johnny Belton for spoiling what would have been a terrific effect by saying in a cold brutal voice 'Like hell you did'. No interruption and no apocryphal stories, however, could take away from his effect on the L. & H., for even when the next centenary history comes to be written there will likely be a chapter on J. C. Flood. He left an indelible mark on the Society.

For my description of Kevin Boylan, I must quote. 'He was always listened to with that quiet respect that is accorded to a preacher by a person who thought he was getting a short Mass and suddenly discovered he had to listen to a sermon.'

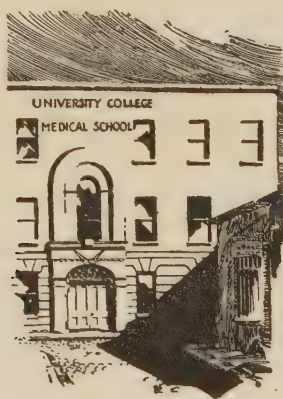
He will go down in the history of the L. & H. as the only one of its members who ever took a vow of silence. If the Society ever owns a library with a special section for the works of its members, Kevin's should find an honoured place.

These are only some of the names that come back over the years, just as it is only possible to mention a few of the visiting chairmen during that period. By far the most popular was the lovable Agnes O'Farrelly, that spinster lady whose family embraced practically the entire University roll. She could always be assured of the deep respect even of the most irreverent. One of the projects on which she was very keen was the moving of Cecilia Street, by which of course she meant the medical school, to Earlsfort Terrace, and when I interjected at a meeting that it simply could not be done, she threw a slightly annoyed 'Why not?' My reply that it could never be got through Crow Street, made her dissolve in the general laughter. Her contemporary, Mary Hayden, was equally prepared to brave the eighty-sixers and no one could forget the inner flame which seemed to consume Madame Gonne MacBride as she hungered and thirsted after justice. Heckling died in the throat.

When so many are unfortunately forgotten, it does seem remarkable that two incidents involving two chairmen come to mind with photographic clarity. The first exception is one of which I had occasion to remind Leo McCauley at the lovely Irish Embassy in Madrid. When I got an attack of stage fright for the first and, I hope, the last time, in what must have been one of my earliest speeches in debate, I heard through the haze his calm level voice 'You were saying, Mr. Mowbray, that . . .' and he put me back on the rails. At such times and in such ways do great men become unforgettable. The second is the famous night when Jim Larkin at the height of his power extra-murally, but by no means *persona grata* with College authorities, was invited to preside at a College debate. His power to control the toughest element of labour stood him in good stead with the back-benchers and he lost nothing in the estimation of the intelligentsia by correcting one speaker who had attributed a quotation to Longfellow when in fact it was from Swinburne. In fact he did everything to stimulate

iconoclastic tendencies and I can remember glowing with satisfaction when, in his speech of thanks to his listeners, he took particular care to make an exception of 'that pup from the North'.

Representatives of the other two political parties also began to make their appearance in this important forum of University opinion and the animosities engendered by the Civil War unfortunately ran the risk of being perpetuated. The partitioning of the country sent the northern accent crackling with incendiary rage among the southern cohort but, because of all these unguarded utterances of forthright youth, the L. & H. in fact acted as a safety valve for forces which might otherwise have disrupted academic life. This fusion of antagonistic elements led, in the course of a very short time, to a similar *rapprochement* among their elders. This is exemplified in the platform brought together by Tom O'Rourke in his inaugural of 1928 which was presided over by Dr. Coffey, who never missed, except through absolute necessity, an inaugural. The names were Fitzgerald-Kenney, Tom Bodkin, Creed Meredith and Arthur Clery. In fact, if the L. & H. had no other claim to fame than its survival during the fissioning years of the War of Independence, the Civil War and the cold war following, it could rest content; but when one had to add, to this simple survival, the assuaging of bitterness and the foundation of friendships, then surely it could hand on the gavel to succeeding years with pardonable pride.



Chapter v.

NEW BEGINNINGS (1923-1930)

In the earlier years of this period the ground-swell of the Civil War was still apparent but the Society was notably free from the bitterness that persisted outside the College. Many functions were revived that had been suspended during the troubled years. In 1924 an inaugural address was read, the first since M. J. Ryan's in the last autumn before the European War. A few years later the Society embarked on a series of elaborate inter-debates with English, Scottish and Welsh universities. This was only one of the activities developed by the Society at this time. The publication of a College magazine was resumed; first in the form of Atlantis under the editorship of Max MacKenna, later in the form of a revived National Student. The formation of a Dramatic Society was a still more fruitful achievement of this period of expansion.

I.—J. C. FLOOD

I HAVE NO APOLOGY TO MAKE for this article, the doing of which has been forced on me. I shall make factual mistakes in the course of it and describe events without strict regard to their chronology. My excuse must be that the minute books which I was careful to deliver to the College are not now to be found in its archives. If I deal, or rather appear to deal, harshly with any of my contemporaries, the fault is their own for not presenting to me the more agreeable facets of their characters. But in fact they are limned pleasantly and even affectionately in my memory.

You will see that this is to be a personal story but I warn my readers that the charge of egoism will leave me only cynically amused. I can write no other way about the L. & H. Whatever

overestimate I have of what I may have been able to contribute to it, there is no doubt in my mind as to the very considerable formative influence it had on me, in my own under-graduate and early graduate days. I owe a great debt to the contemporaries of my youth and if I seem to do less than admit it, that is because I am writing an article and not a book. I am, however, quite sure that if I had that part of my life to live over again I would act in the same way. I have never let any considerations of personal friendship, or the reverse, affect my public life, nor have I ever understood those who could bring themselves to such deviations from public honesty without apparent shame.

In 1933 I wrote an article for *Comhthrom Féinne* which will serve to introduce more serious matters.¹

In a manner it was an accident misbegotten of curiosity that led me to my connection with the L. & H. In front of me at lectures sat a large South African of Irish extraction, huge, red-headed and befreckled, of a temperament happy, optimistic, full of suburban energy. Lecture hours were for him a period in which he studied a small green booklet and carried on a conversation *sotto voce* with his neighbours about mysteriously wise persons who had said such and such a thing the other night or were expected to be 'coming down' to say equally enthralling things tomorrow. At other times extraordinary manoeuvres seemed to have taken place and so-and-so was 'beaten' or 'got in' by some strange device described in terms foreign to my knowledge. Sometimes my red-headed friend would turn to me and describe some unusually exciting episode in which I gathered that he had tilted an effective lance though the nature of the procedure was obscured by a wealth of pseudo-legal jargon and by the fact that forty per cent of my attention was focussed on the subtleties of human digestion. 'You should join' he advised, 'only cost you a bob'; and he followed this with a technical description of what had happened to some 'plumber' who had attempted to speak without having paid his shilling.

There were two courses open; either to explore this strange and highly complex Society or to ignore it and forever feel inferior. I resolved on the former and made such enquiries as to the time and place of meeting as could be made without betraying my intentions, for to have confessed ignorance of so much that was evidently important would have been at once unbecoming and even indecent. So I saved up a shilling and one dark and gloomy

¹ What follows is abridged from *Comhthrom Féinne*, October 1933.

Saturday in mid-winter set off on my trip of exploration. I had then no hope that I could ever do more than sit humbly on a back bench and pretend to understand what it might be all about.

I entered 86, and after some discreet inquiries from the porter, George of pious memory, I passed quickly up the stairs, feeling my way along the banisters until I arrived at a pair of large doors through which a chink of smoky light emerged. Behind these doors there seemed to be a meeting in progress; people could be heard shouting about 'points of order'; hammering on the table, more noise, more hammering; a voice speaking amid a great silence, some booing. Then up the stairs behind me came the sound of footsteps. I could see no one. Someone passed me, touched those doors, the chink of light widened and narrowed again; he had gone inside. Whoever he was, there were new cheers to greet him and in a moment or two a new declamatory speaker poured forth his soul in a torrent of words that held me spell-bound. How was I to have known that he was just a popular folly overflowing with the froth and good-fellowship of a nearby hostelry? These men were greater than I could aspire to become; they spoke a language that I could not follow in a manner I could never hope to imitate. If I opened those doors I might find that I had entered such a quarter of the room that all would see my entry and, gazing on me, sense my unfitness to be there. It was all hopeless. I turned away, hurrying quickly out of the building lest someone should see me and guess my purpose or its unhappy *dénouement*. Almost a year went by, I experimented on minor committees; though I was losing my sense of inferiority, I was still afraid of the L. & H. and, worse still, self-conscious to an overwhelming degree.

It was my third year in Medicine, near the end of the Michaelmas term. My South African friend described, during a lecture on the habits of intestinal worms, the clash and fury of debate and the brilliant parliamentarianism which had ended in the success of himself and his associates. With conscious (and, it must be said, quite simple) pride, for he was a fine fellow, he told us that he was now 'senior committee-man'. Opening the green book he indicated certain curiously worded rules, the purport of which seemed to be that in the event of the Auditor's activities being paralysed by an Act of God or of the King's enemies, he would attain to vast power and almost unheard-of prerogatives. Being pressed to attend, I pledged my word to do so. The deed was done, I might no longer run away in honour; and so on a Saturday I passed in to a quiet corner seat by the window and paid a shilling to a bespectacled youth who took my name and looked at me curiously as I repeated it.

I understood little of that meeting; of the procedure I understood nothing. Beside the Auditor, my friend sat large and imposing, obviously born to the position of senior committee-man which incidentally he lost a week later. He gazed at me wisely and with a certain consciousness of office; as who would say 'This is how we do it; this is how it should be done'. After the meeting he came across to me and asked what I thought of it. I replied that it seemed very interesting, whereat he introduced me to the Auditor to whom I made the same fatuous response and was advised that I should speak next time; but I smiled self-consciously and went home feverish and discontented. And so a future Auditor was born into the Society and had he known it, he would not have consented to it at that time though it was to be his greatest pride.

Life moves in cycles. Recently when I was dined in the Cambridge Union by some undergraduates, one of them said as we left: '*They* are having a debate tonight'. Another said, a little wistfully I thought: 'I suppose you have to pass a test before you are allowed to speak there'. O unhappy diffident youth, mount your charger, wave a lance and burst through the first fortifications and the day will be yours.

The Auditor at this first meeting I attended must have been John Farrell, who now adorns the District Court. A young medical, a little senior to me, A. R. J. Dungan, came up and spoke a few encouraging words. A hard-working and well-intentioned youth, his untimely death closed the promise of a brilliant career in Pathology. The only other medical present was R. Gardiner, who was always witty and earnest. It was the year 1920-21; the times were 'bad'. Meetings were comparatively small and it was best to go home early. Having regard to the difficulties of his period of office, considerable credit is due to Farrell and the members of the Society that it was kept going as a live body with something of a parliamentary tradition in its procedure.

The following year, James Skehan was Auditor. He seemed to possess more of the parliamentary outlook and manner than Farrell but that may have been due to his interminable arguments with James Dillon, who continued to frequent the Society until he went to the United States. Fertile imagination was the background of such storms in the House. But though they

often frightened visiting chairmen who arrived too early, they were amicable at heart, no matter how heated they seemed to be externally. Skehan, Travers who was to succeed him, and Dillon did build up the parliamentary atmosphere of the Society, whether consciously or otherwise. In Dillon's case it was, of course, hereditary and no doubt the circumstances of the national struggle and the 'split' of opinion that caused the Civil War contributed to enlarge the outlook of young men whose hearts were already committed to some theory of liberty. Dillon was an expansive speaker but in a style that was then going out; he suffered from the fact that the party his father led was in disfavour and had in fact run its full span.

It was, I think, in Skehan's year that I was first moved to speak. It was in the Summer term, latish in the evening. I sat near the door. A redheaded chairman, equally 'red' in his views and stated to be related to a prominent personality of the Citizen Army of 1916, presided over the public debate. He interrupted some of the speeches and urged that we should settle down for the night to discuss the glorious revolution of the proletariat, making it obvious that he favoured the blood-thirsty methods that had followed the fall of the Bastille in France and the Tsarist régime in later times. The debate was poor. The opposition to the motion seemed weak and uncertain, perhaps even a little afraid of the chairman. He just couldn't be allowed to get away with that sort of thing, so with a tremendous effort of will, I nodded to Skehan and my name was added to the list of speakers 'against' the motion. I was called fairly soon but until then, as I always do before any public speaking, I suffered the terrors of the damned and would have turned tail and run, had I not been ashamed to do so. My name was called: I rose by another effort of will and poured forth a speech. I do not remember what I said or whether it was sound or not, but it went down all right. I was completely dumbfounded at my audacity and at the fact that I seemed to be doing well. The chairman was not less astonished and looked as though he had been bitten by a lamb. The House rallied to my side, things went better, and I got that time-honoured request from the Auditor to propose the vote of thanks.

In those days this request meant that you had 'arrived' and could be relied upon to do credit to any occasion. Because of the obvious insincerity of such motions of thanks, I have never allowed one to myself on any of the many occasions on which I have been visiting chairman at the L. & H., but as I write I see that this has been unfair to budding speakers and I hope my bad example will not be followed.

How little did I know that I should spend a lifetime in speaking in public, and in private too, as the following incident shows. It was during World War II. I went to London for a meeting of the General Medical Council and 'phoned the late Gerald Fitzgerald, a conversationalist of whom someone said: 'When Gerry talks he sparkles and he makes everyone else want to sparkle too'; at last I got through to him and, wearied of giving my name to various exchange operators, I said 'Flood speaking here'; to which a tired, slow and pleasant voice replied, 'He usually is, isn't he?' But I mercifully had no knowledge of the years to come and vowed that never, never would I speak again. Such vows are made to be broken.

The next year Travers was Auditor. He was a competent ruler for the Society and perhaps a type that was necessary at that period. He lacked brilliance in oratory but he was better than Skehan in answering questions and evading difficulties in private business. The times were still troubled, but meetings were regular and membership increased. Not again would we have the excitement of meetings such as that when Rory O'Connor was to take the chair and the building was patrolled by Free State troops. In fact he did not come and everything went off quietly enough.

Travers did a good job and, though he lacked the expansive speech of Dillon and the dramatic moments of Skehan's oratory, his knowledge of procedure was more accurate than that of his predecessor though, by its very accuracy, it was often to involve him in inextricable difficulty. It was the dawn of a new era in the country, faithfully mirrored in the Society. Outstanding among the speakers of this period, one recalls such men as Johnny Belton and M. B. Roche, the former hoarse and declamatory with a tincture of literary allusion from his wide

knowledge of German literature, the latter more flexible in speech, more witty and quicker because more detached and so able to appreciate the niceties of legal procedure. They were an outstanding team, later to be supported by Tony Malone. These were growing years and the Society grew apace.

The Summer term was approaching and to my surprise an earlier hint of Skehan's the previous year, which I had hardly noticed, took shape again in a request of some members that I would contest the auditorial election for the coming year. I thought my prospects of success very doubtful; it would be my last and heaviest year in Medicine and I was also reading for the Bar and for two other degrees. It was essential that I do well in these examinations. My medical friends urged me to have nothing to do with the L. & H. if I wanted to do well in Medicine. I decided that it could be done. My opponent, J. G. Long, was quite a good speaker and very popular, especially with the ladies, and the female vote was by no means inconsiderable; but my chief supporter, Jack Lennon, to whom I remain indebted, was then doing Science in the Chemical School, Merrion Street, where many of these women were passing the time, scholastically speaking. I could, I thought, rely on most of the men. In the event I was elected by a satisfactory majority. The only election pledge I gave was that I would read an inaugural address and this I meant to and did fulfil.

Here I should perhaps digress to indicate the circumstances of the times, which are always faithfully reflected and even prophesied in the Society. We were not yet fully out of the period known as 'the troubles'; the Civil War, which ended then, divided homes and families with a bitterness that descended to their children. It was still too soon to forget, The College was full of eager young Irishmen and women bursting with the resurgence of a new nationalistic spirit but torn asunder by party and family feuds consequent on the national schism. Most of them had parents or older brothers and sisters who had taken an active part in the struggle or, in some cases, who had died for their part in it, or in the earlier fighting against the British. Some few claimed, not always with justification, records of personal achievement. To all this I

was a stranger, born and bred in an 'enemy' country and but recently an active participant in what many of them regarded as the less important battles of the first World War. I had never sought personal popularity and, though my arteries were still soft, I was not suspected of any softness of head or heart. That they elected me is, in my opinion, a tribute to the honour of generous and fairminded youth.

It is most unlikely that they ever considered that matter formally in such terms. Once they had come to the opinion that I would make a good Auditor, that my speaking and administrative talents were equal to the task, they supported my candidature with cheerful good-humour and the slightly cynical zest of Irish youth. Such opposition as there was came from what they supposed I was, rather than from what I was known to be.

I was now Auditor and I had the Summer vacation to think things over. It seemed to me quite simple in theory; one presided a little remotely and accepted the opinions of the majority with ease and grace. I had mastered 'Palgrave' and need bow to no one in my knowledge of procedure. I had yet to learn that the existing Constitution was quite inadequate to the new development in the Society. There was a rumour that Dr. Coffey, the President, would not allow 'political' debates but I knew that these could be the making of the Society if properly controlled.

Coffey was at first doubtful but, recognising that we held the same view that there should be no external publicity and that I could exercise effective control, he never once interfered so far as I remember, even when there were complaints from professors of narrower views or closer political alignments than his. This tribute I can pay him, that he understood the young and was more tolerant of undergraduate exuberance than many others. In the years to come we were to have differences, yet I never had the least doubt but that I could rely on him in any difficulty, as indeed, I did on two occasions nor would it have ever occurred to him that I would not do so. Soon after he retired I entered the novitiate at Downside and we corresponded regularly until his death. In his last years on the

General Medical Council he was in bad health and had to leave certain things to me; we both knew that he hated this, but he never questioned my judgment. He died as he had lived, a Christian gentleman.

The Michaelmas term began; I thought that it should open with a great political debate. The committee for some reason not then made clear to me, wanted to begin with an impromptu debate with Arthur Clery, then a professor in the Law Faculty, presiding. Eventually they accepted my proposal. This meeting took place in due course and was a great success, but the committee, which numbered many of my supporters in the recent election, now decided to reduce me to order. They summoned a meeting without my consent. I attended and at once adjourned it, because of the discourtesy shown me in the matter. I felt that it was for the Auditor to rule the Society and for the committee to exchange executive powers for an administrative function. I decided to ask the House to give me a new committee.

The next meeting was overcrowded, the committee had obviously friends in the House and the new Auditor was an untried force; I would receive no help, but if I failed to control the situation I was finished. I should explain that in the L. & H. there is always a parliamentary struggle to throw the committee out of office, either *en bloc* or individually, by means of votes of censure, because of real or imagined 'misconduct in office' of these officials. They defend themselves against a House that accepts the dictum that the first duty of an opposition is to oppose. The system is a good one and no matter how heated the discussion, no heads are broken and the victors and the vanquished remain the best friends and live to fight another day. It teaches a man to stand criticism without anger or rancour, and it brings out the best debating skill of the speakers. If the Auditor knows his job, it teaches them procedure. Not the least of its advantages is that people, who otherwise would never dare to speak in the more formal public debate which follows, get upon their feet and in the stress of the moment make their maiden speeches.

The atmosphere is often electric, and there may be much

heckling that should be both relevant and witty. The tradition is, and I always insisted on it, that a man making his maiden speech is never heckled. Neither in this nor in the public debate is it ever permitted to read a speech, or even to use more than the scantiest notes, if indeed any. Visiting chairmen who arrive too early often take fright at the heat and clamour of debate, not realising that it is all in good spirit and that the two main wordy contestants are in fact the best of friends. Whenever the Society has been ruled by a quiet intellectual 'run' by a committee of mutual admiration, the Society has gone down in numbers and prestige, and its value to the young has been lessened. I am all for the private business; it must be controlled, but not overmuch, by the Auditor. I believe that youth must 'have its fling', and will continue to hold this belief until crabbed age touches my heart.

To such a House I explained my position expecting, or at least hoping, they'd support me. One by one, they attacked me from all sides. Someone wanted to propose a vote of censure on me. This, I explained, could not be done as I held office under the Constitution. I also ruled that the Chair could not be attacked personally as it typified the Society, and to attack it would mean chaos in any Society. Many and varied were the ingenious expedients adopted to get round this ruling. Later in the year I was to add to this by ruling that the policy of the Auditor could not be publicly assailed in debate by any member of the committee; the Auditor must be backed by his officials at least in public, but they could attack his policy if they first resigned. This was accepted as evident enough.

The onset of the public debate brought the storm to an end for the time being but I went home that night feeling that the bottom had dropped out of things. Either I must resign or I must try to save the situation and, as I saw it, the Society, for another election would cripple it in this its first year of freedom from the restrictive conditions of the recent past.

The next meeting was more subdued; the House was watching to see the outcome of my struggle with the committee. Who would give way first? The betting was against me. I would probably resign or perhaps the President would remove me.

A meeting of the Society was held on Saturday January
20th 1900 - Mr. Magennis M.A., F.R.S.I. in the chair.
Mr. James Joyce read a paper on "Drama & Life". A vote
of thanks to Mr. Joyce proposed by Mr. Dowling & seconded by
Mr. Kennedy was supported in vigorous speeches by Messrs.
Kettle, Cogan M.A., Cogan, & Rev. Father Darlington S.J. M.A.
Mr. Magennis after an able summing up, declared the vote
thanks carried unanimously. Mr. Joyce replied.

At the beginning of the meeting one of the
members present raised some questions impugning the ~~minuteness~~
of ~~competency~~ of the officials, but they were satisfactorily disposed
of by the official in question.

O. J. Lennox

January 27th, 1900

MINUTE OF JOYCE'S PAPER ON IBSEN

(Entry written by Hugh Kennedy)

I gave no sign and after some small fireworks the meeting discussed other matters. I am not sure of the order of events but soon afterwards the committee disappeared; either it resigned or it was censured on some triviality and the House then declined to elect a new committee. I was now alone. My gifts, such as they are, are administrative rather than executive, so I appointed a treasurer from the House in order to secure that the business of enrolling new members would be properly done and that a true electoral list would be available at the end of the year for the election of my successor. This secured general agreement readily enough.

Not long afterwards, a committee was elected which included such people as Brian Dillon, later Headmaster at Glenstal and also The O'Rahilly and John Hooper, now leading members of the Bar and staunch and valued friends of mine so long as our paths through life lay near. Joseph McGilligan, a 'medical' now unfortunately deceased, and James Ennis, now County Registrar at Tullamore, also Alice White and Kathleen O'Donnell, made up a goodly committee of varied talents. The meetings of the Society were now so large that we transferred to the *Aula Maxima*. The Old Physics Theatre had wonderful acoustic properties and lent itself to an easy flow of oratory: the new venue offered difficulties to speakers. Only the best could speak from the platform and be heard at the end of the hall, but if one spoke from the steps below the platform, one could easily be heard unless one made the mistake of shouting. Later I divided the House so that the seats were arranged on rows opposite each other with a central aisle and this solved the problem. Everything was going well when a new crisis arose.

A proposal to ask Eimar O'Duffy to preside at a public debate was suggested by the then correspondence secretary. Hearing that he was not in favour in certain quarters, I vetoed the proposal. To my amazement the notice board informed me that he had been invited and had accepted. The correspondence secretary admitted pressure from another member of the committee. There was nothing to be done but to receive him courteously. At the meeting, which was crowded, I was challenged as to why he had been invited. I forget whether

this was before or after the public debate. I explained the circumstances and dismissed the correspondence secretary; while I was speaking, I noticed the other member involved in writing what I rightly guessed was his resignation. I thereupon dismissed him before he could give it to me.

I still did not know why the opposition was so strong against O'Duffy. He came, a quiet little man whom I knew only as an ex-schoolmaster who had published some poems, one of them worthy of more notice than it has received. As soon as he took the chair there was a terrific uproar. I felt sorry for him but could do nothing to help. He tried and failed to secure order. Eventually appealing to me, he left the chair and I took it. Immediately there was complete silence—it had always been the tradition that when the Auditor rose there was silence, but I had not expected it to be quite so easy. Apparently I was not inculcated in the eyes of the Society. I said a few 'short sharp' words and perfect order reigned. I again put Eimar O'Duffy in the chair and it seemed as if Bedlam had broken loose. Again I took the chair, again perfect silence and the cycle repeated itself. It was evident that the visiting chairman would get no hearing, so he departed quietly into the night. It seemed that he edited a police journal which gave offence to the parties of the Left: others may have been provoked by his book *The Wasted Island*. I was sorry for the loss of two good committee men, one of whom I had hoped would be a future Auditor.

I was happy in my officials after this event, and I declared that the treasurer was not subject to censure, which with some formal demur was accepted. It was perhaps a relief to find that the opposition was no longer directed against me but to its traditional target, the committee. For the rest of the year I never had any trouble. It was recognised that the Society was doing well and that I had no personal axe to grind. Also I was trusted when I had to find new interpretations to adjust old rules to new conditions on the plea *salus Societatis, prima lex*. There were many new faces in the Society who were happily developing in speaking and in their power to get and to hold the ear of the House: Hooper, Kevin Boylan, now Prior of Caldey, Roche, Max MacKenna who was to succeed me, The O'Rahilly and Bill Sweetman, a truly gifted and versatile mind.

I had promised to read an inaugural address. Coffey vetoed the first term but agreed on an early date in the Hilary term. There were a few who feared that the delay meant that I was stalling but most accepted my assurance that I would fulfil my promise, as indeed was always my intention. The last inaugural had been held in the days of M. J. Ryan and I had no precedents to go by. I had also some misgivings as to how I'd fare on a non-medical subject. I chose the title: *The Economics of an Average Man*. We staged it in the Council Chamber, Coffey presided and the official speakers to the motions were Professor Magennis, a beautiful speaker in the Asquithian style, tireless in oratory, tiresome on questions of procedure, and Tom Johnson, then a Labour T.D., wearing the rough homespuns that Labour affected in those days. He was a calculated speaker and writer in a steady forceful style; there was something in his style akin to that of his prototype Ramsay MacDonald in the latter's younger days; and also the inevitable Paddy Lynch, K.C. I had found precedents for the motions moved on such occasions, but had not the effrontery to leave the usual ending ' . . . and that the address be printed and published at the expense of the Society'. My precedent has been followed in this matter by bashful Auditors but it is a bad one; and their addresses should be published, perhaps some of them would then be more carefully prepared. Actually all went off well and the address was adequately reported in the press.

The rest of the year was easy going. I had a strong bloc of supporters in the Society, Hooper, O'Rahilly, Bill Sweetman, Johnny Belton, Jack O'Sullivan, Ml. Moran and others who unconsciously formed opinion in the Society. I appointed a new official, a Leader of the House. Kevin Boylan held the post. He liked the job and he drew fire that would otherwise have been directed higher up. One could attack the committee only from one side of the House and members of the committee could not attack the governmental policy. The *Aula Maxima* lent itself to and indeed necessitated this arrangement, but no doubt it is not possible in the present premises where speaking tends to the humdrum level of the lecture hall. Roche, MacKenna

and Belton imported a varied knowledge of literature into the debates which was much to the good.

The debating standard was high and I hope I am no *laudator temporis acti* when I say that I have never heard better. I think that the place of meeting has much to do with the standard of speaking. In the present venue, I have heard perfect delivery only from a young solicitor named Connolly, who would have done well at the Bar. It was always my custom to request, persuade, cajole, urge and plead with potential new speakers to make their maiden speeches; this is not the least of the Auditor's duties. He must be present at all meetings and remain all through them. The successful course of the public debate depends on his arrangement of the list of speakers; he may change the order to keep the debate from dragging; he can ask people to speak who have not given in their names, and he alone can ask someone to change sides to make a more even debate. It has never been the practice in the L. & H. to associate a man's speech with his personal views, which may be quite different; he merely holds a brief for the side. Visiting chairmen have to be unobtrusively guided by the Auditor, told not to give everyone full marks and that normally they are not expected or desired to make a long speech at the end, and that they must never publish what they say. They have been invited to honour them personally, not to give them an opportunity of self-aggrandisement. Mostly they understand this but politicians can forget that there are other values than the political.

A sense of public duty and courtesy to the Society that has done him the honour of electing him secures that the Auditor will carry out these duties. I have known a few who departed with their cronies as soon as the public debate began or, worse still, after their own speeches. They were unworthy of their trust and the Society did not flourish under them. It is a curious fact that I have noticed in many spheres of public life, that if a man who is entrusted with an office gives himself unselfishly to the task before him and does not seek his own enlargement through it, he invariably does enhance his reputation; but if he be selfish or self-centered and seeks to

use the office to increase himself, he invariably ends in failure.

It would take a volume to write of one year, but one must recall certain debates. One of the best was when Mary MacSwiney took the chair for a political debate. She easily controlled a packed meeting and spoke clearly and apparently effortlessly with a delivery far above the average. I would rank her delivery as equal to that of Birkenhead, but calmer in tone. She had that indefinable quality, charm. Another debate gave us an equally remarkable but splendid oration from W. B. Yeats. He had an appearance that amply befitted his style and his address was the most moving I have ever heard. An active member of those days and later an Auditor, A. J. Malone, who was both a good speaker and a mine of legal knowledge in procedural matters, ever cheerful and reliable, reminds me of what was probably the best debate of the year: it was on the French occupation of the Ruhr. Professor Chauviré presided and among others, Roche, Johnny Belton and I spoke. It was a subject which we were all specially competent to understand in its true perspective, and I agree with him that it represented the acme of oratory both as regards the argument and its presentation.

Other visiting chairmen included Professor M. J. Ryan, who told us how he had become Auditor and assured us that our antagonists in the Society would be our friends in later life. Professor Agnes O'Farrelly came for an 'impromptu'; she was a good friend of the Society and to me; a valiant woman who never quite understood the opposition that came to her from certain quarters. Professor Magennis came too, and spoke at length; it was an education to listen to him but I had to devise methods to prevent him holding up the debate on obstructive points of procedure. Late in the year Professor Arthur Clery came twinkling, apologetic and self-conscious. He declined my proffered hand. Years later after some public meeting at which I had spoken in terms that pleased him, he came up and said, 'Let us forget our differences'. This was the first I knew of them, but it seems that he had been hurt that I had, as it happened quite unwittingly, broken a tradition in not asking him to preside at the first meeting. I came to know

him well; a sensitive 'touchy' man, self-conscious and proud, diffident and in his later years somewhat embittered. Despite a certain spitefulness, he was an honest and honourable gentleman. Conor Maguire, now Chief Justice, then an overworked junior at the Bar, presided at one meeting. He gave us an interesting account of earlier days in the Society and presided with his easy competence and simple courtesy. Another lawyer, Eugene Sheehy, soon to adorn the Circuit Court, presided at a debate on a legal topic and proved that competent friendliness can capture any audience. We catered much for law students in those days. Others came too, such as the late Albert Wood, K.C., complete with flashing eye and bushy moustaches. He could be relied on for a sentimental speech at the end detailing his early struggles. Some decry these sentimental relations, but they help the weaker brethren.

I was always conscious of the inadequacy of the rules, but the time was not ripe for their amendment, which came about in this wise. The worst difficulties concerned membership of the electorate, which led to frequent election petitions that usually disrupted the Society. I was later called to preside over two or three such commissions and it was always difficult to sort the evidence and determine issues of fact and petty venality. Finally, the Society being in difficulties, an extraordinary general meeting was held on 15th December, 1932, under the chairmanship of E. C. Fitzgibbon at which full powers to rule the Society and to draft and promulgate a new Constitution were given to a triumvirate composed of Seán Murray, Donal J. O'Sullivan and myself. I presided at meetings of the triumvirs. We succeeded in drawing up a new Constitution which was promulgated on 25th January, 1933.

The new Constitution was reasonably foolproof, particularly in its election procedure, and provided for the speedy settlement of disputes. It sought to remedy certain abuses such as that of an Auditor being eligible for medals during his year of office, since visiting chairmen often show little discretion in the awarding of marks and give full marks to the Auditor. It provided for the contingency of a prejudiced chairman awarding marks according to his political or other beliefs, or of giving

everyone full marks. It prevented a situation arising in which any clique could come into the Society in a particular year and impose an inexperienced member on it as Auditor for the following year, and it provided for such academic seniority in an auditorial candidate that he might be acceptable to the College authorities as the reader of a public inaugural address. Of my fellow triumvirs, I can say that they were both honest men and Diogenes might have stayed had he brought his lantern to our meetings. I have drafted many Constitutions for all sorts of bodies since those days, but never with such ease and pleasure.

In retrospect the happiest memory I have of those days is of the high sense of responsibility my contemporaries brought to bear on the problems of the 'public life' of the College and this without detriment to the natural zest and temperament peculiar to Irish youth. They had emerged from the gloomy caverns of a historical perspective that brooded on past wrongs. They were making history, not suffering its shadow. Their faces lit to the future.

The L. & H. was one of the formative influences of my youth as it has been for so many others. Incidentally, who would have foreseen that Skehan, Brian Dillon, Boylan and myself would end up as priests, the last three as monks, two of us after having pursued other careers. It was in the L. & H. that so many of us learnt our potential value and learnt, too, that there is a scale in human values that transcends the alignments of family, race, party and politics. They were 'good people' in those days and no doubt their sons are equally good if not better, but those who live through the making of history have an advantage over their followers. The L. & H. is a stage, but a stage that mirrors the greater drama of later life. I entrust it with confidence to the youth of today, knowing that in it they will learn that the prizes of life go to those who have the courage to seek them unafraid, and the generosity of heart to profit by them, for it is one thing to achieve, another to enlarge oneself in the achievement.

TO WRITE THIRTY YEARS and more after the event is no easy task. To do so with little aid from written or printed records, when many of the chief actors have long since left by the stage door for other theatres, is more difficult work. What, to my mind, were the most memorable features of the life and times of the L. & H. between 1924 and 1930? It was a period of readjustment. The first World War and the later Anglo-Irish and Civil conflicts were still vivid memories to all the students of those years and many of them had military experiences of one kind or another. At Saturday night debates men like The O'Rahilly, Ernie O'Malley, Frank Ryan, Tom O'Rourke, as later Charlie Donnelly, met and made friends with others far removed from them in political outlook and background. In reflection it seems to me that there began in the Society the difficult process of seeing the other man's viewpoint, while not necessarily yielding to it, which in later years has spread to wider circles. In short, there was born a new spirit of toleration.

The second important general feature of the Society's work which I recall was its valuable influence on student activities as a whole. In the six years under review the L. & H. sponsored, sometimes by accident and at times by design, a number of undertakings, a few of which were in later years to rival their parent Society in popularity. Details of these activities will come to light in the course of these fragmentary memorisings.

The Society is always politically minded and so its motions show it to have been in these years. Three resolutions seem to me to reflect the political evolution of part of Ireland at that time. In February 1924 the debate was fast and furious on: *That in the opinion of the House the Free State Government has made good.* In October 1927 a future parliamentary secretary, a committee minute book tells us, was asking that the Society should debate on successive Saturdays a motion *That an alliance between Cumann na nGaedheal and Fianna Fáil is in the interests of the country.* The visiting chairman was to be on the first night either Professor Magennis or

Senator P. J. Hooper, to be followed in the chair the following Saturday by Mr. Eamon de Valera. Finally in April 1930 a debate under the guidance of President Cosgrave had unfortunately to be postponed to late in May and assigned to a less distinguished chairman. The motion was: *That Cumann na nGaedheal has outlived its usefulness as a government*. Other subjects mooted or debated in that period were: *That the sacrifice of 1916 has not been justified*, with Mr. Seán T. O'Kelly, now His Excellency the President, as visiting chairman, while Jim Larkin came to hear the members' views on: *That Labour is not fit to govern* and to give effective answers to those who believed in that thesis. In 1929 an old friend of the Society, Father Tom Finlay, S.J., suggested as a subject for international inter-University debate: *That the recrudescence of Autocracy in Europe is due to abuses of Democracy*. If memory serves me right the Oxford Union was within a short while refusing to fight for King and Country.

What influence had the Literary and Historical on other student affairs? In the auditorship of Max MacKenna it was decided to publish a magazine. There was only one issue of *Atlantis*, but the debates undoubtedly helped to bring about the single issue of *The Chessboard*, to be followed by the revival of the *National Student* which is still happily with us as that modern compromise, *The Student*.

When John Nash reigned supreme 'in his capacity as Auditor', it was decided to form a Dramatic Club under the Society's auspices. Here action followed at once on decision. Ernie O'Malley, assisted by Michael Farrell, was the driving force and before the year was out he had become the first Director of the Club and seen the first plays produced. A year later our present Dramatic Society began its independent existence with a Director of its own choosing to whom Ernie O'Malley handed over his charge. This lusty offspring matured rapidly and was soon to become host to Sir Frank Benson's Shakespearian Company. Still later it sponsored the *première* of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, the author being present to praise the production highly, particularly the effect of the verse-speaking of the chorus in that difficult play.

In October 1924 the personality of J. C. Flood still dominated the contemporary scene although his auditorial term was finished and that of his successor, Max MacKenna, had successfully begun. His influence was to continue until broken by his friend and equal, Kevin Boylan. After a conflict of powerful personalities in what in retrospect might be thought of as *une querelle des moines*, Flood temporarily abandoned his old love and founded a schismatic Legal and Economic Society. The new society did not flourish. Perhaps the founder's heart was elsewhere. Yet once again seed had been scattered not all of which fell on stony ground. On the site of the Legal and Economic Society was built our modern, flourishing Law Society, rivalling the L. & H. as a training ground for public, political and legal orators. The great Flood never fully recovered his power and prestige in the old Society, and at the end of these six years had so far subsided as to leave the field to its new Auditor, Dudley Edwards. The sole clash that I can remember between these personalities took place at a meeting of Convocation when Dudley, on a point of order, rashly suggested that Flood should abandon metaphor and call a spade a spade. The reply was quick, if not to any point, that the speaker would and could use the implement to dig up Robert's record in the Literary and Historical Society.

Much encouragement was also given by the Society's representatives to give fresh life to the Students' Representative Council. When that body began to wake from its long trance about 1927, many were the personalities from the Society who were at hand to prevent its return to cloud-cuckoo land. Because of the S.R.C. revival the work of the Kevin Barry Committee was brought to fruition, and a memorial, that had more than once been a subject of debate in 86 and the Council Chamber, became a reality. Here it is proper to pay tribute to the zealous efforts of The O'Rahilly inside and outside the Society.

All this time succeeding Auditors and their committees had their hands and heads full of the Society's own affairs. About February 1925 Kevin Boylan, having taken over control after the brief reign of Tony Malone, developed the modern

series of inter-debates between the sister Colleges of our University and Trinity and Queen's, Belfast. In one of these debates the Irish language was saved or revived by northern eloquence and the votes of the Queen's students, the hosts on the occasion. From this beginning was developed the idea of international debate. The first suggestions were received with customary caution by that benevolent despot, President Coffey. In the 'twenties he regarded continental Universities, not excluding Louvain, as the breeding grounds for strange ideas. A modified consent was won in the auditorships of Tom O'Rourke and Dudley Edwards and full dress debates were held with the leading Universities, old and new, of Ireland and Great Britain. The sharp eye of authority noticed an omission in the list of invitations and the President of the Society sent for Auditor O'Rourke. He went metaphorically fully armed and well-versed in the arguments in defence of his own and his committee's action. He had the unnerving experience of being allowed to speak by Dr. Coffey, who was for the occasion a patient and attentive listener. At the end of the eloquent explanation, the President demolished his arguments with the devastating comment: 'Those are all excellent reasons, O'Rourke, but you thought of them all afterwards'.

Under Paddy Byrne's leadership we began to feel the inadequacy of the Old Physics Theatre in 86 as a Saturday night meeting place for debates. An attempt was made to induce authority to allow the use of the Council Chamber, now the History Library, for ordinary meetings of the Society. When the move was finally made is not on permanent record but early in 1928, one of the senior ex-Auditors, Professor Robert Donovan, in reply to a vote of thanks in 86, spoke regretfully, on account of old associations, of the necessity for the move but congratulated the members on finding a new home in the Council Chamber. No doubt the rough, if memorable, experiences of many Professors as visiting chairmen won much support for the appeal for roomier accommodation. *The Chessboard*, in Michaelmas term, 1928, when it reported Tom O'Rourke's inaugural meeting, announced the change officially.

In January 1929 the Auditor and committee were fearful of

being evicted from their then seemingly luxurious surroundings because of the traditional rowdiness of the members and the burning of the parquet floor with cigarette ends. A touching appeal was sent to the S.R.C. for the loan of their ash trays to prevent further damage.

To deal with the problem of the high spirits of the members in their new home was more difficult. John Nash, in the teeth of charges of snobbery, took a courageous decision. He decreed that members of the committee, appearing at the committee table on Saturday nights, must wear evening dress. The rule became subsequently more rigid when absence from the committee table on more than two successive Saturdays resulted in the automatic suspension of the member. I say advisedly that the ruling was courageous because not only the College, but the country, was sartorially self-conscious in those years; a white tie and tails could well be the badge of the shoneen and even a black tie and dinner jacket were not above suspicion. Four years later the 'topper' was given its *coup de grâce*, although what seemed then a death blow proved not to have been so fatal as was first thought. Evening dress it remained for Auditor and committee. Could it be that in this small way we began to rid ourselves of an inferiority complex and to prove that Jack was as good as his erstwhile master?

To quote *Time*, names make news and these familiar names made news between 1924 and 1930. Auditors: Max MacKenna, later a leading figure in the Oxford Union, in English Liberal politics and at the English Bar; Tony Malone, following some kind of Solomon's judgment, details of which escape me, handed over his office to Kevin Boylan, who later had a brief and successful career as a lecturer in Physics in the College. It may have been his memories of the turbulence of the L. & H. that helped to bring him to the peace and quiet of Roscrea Abbey and more recently to heavy duties as Prior of sea-cradled Caldey Island. Tony Malone, Paddy Byrne, John Nash, Tom O'Rourke, Willie Binchy, a famous Auditor who never took the auditorial chair, Robin Dudley Edwards, never developed the wanderlust save for intervals of travelling studentships or the like. To practice the law in either of its branches, to control

Convocation, to profess History are tasks that they have done at home with abundant success. Glance at the colleagues they had in their committees. Law and diplomacy owe debts to the Society of those days when one remembers such judge-like figures as George Murnaghan, already with the mark upon him, and Cearbhall O Dálaigh, already a stout defender of the Irish language and an exponent of the philosophy of Saint Thomas. Their contemporaries will not remember entirely for their diplomacy John Belton, Willie Fay, and Denis Devlin, then more of a poet than an ambassador. The Irish Senior Bar is still well served by Seán Hooper and neither his colleagues in the old days nor of the Bar will easily forget Tadhg Forbes. Generations of College students will remember Louis Roche, but not as treasurer of the Literary and Historical Society. In politics John O'Donovan and Roger McHugh may still owe something to their training in the exciting atmosphere of the Council Chamber. The E.S.B. will remember Bill Lawlor and Eugene O'Reilly but will not appreciate that a distinguished engineer colleague, Dermot O'Riordan, once fought a battle in print against J. C. Flood to make the L. & H. bi-lingual. Medicine can still enjoy the sardonic humour of Jack Mowbray, who no doubt has a different brand for his child patients. Who could have foreseen that the Church, after his years of surgical practice and controversy, would gather to itself at last the Society's Voltaire, the almost venerable J. C. Flood? Memory brings back, too, scientist Bob Carolan, Fred Moorhead and the bearded Michael Farrell but record has not kept pace with memory. Younger in years and very opposite in character, I can remember the volatile Eddie Fitzgibbon and the more solemn John Kent whose promising careers were to end so regrettably early. The women too, served on all committees and by their efforts many of the bills were paid. No mere man could run a successful dance, 'hop', or indeed his own inaugural meeting. I seem to remember, among many, Celia Shaw, Kitty O'Connor, Evelyn Brophy, Florrie Lynch, Ursula White, and Pat Browner, all of them creating a stir in the life of the College and the Society. Many of them have chosen the anonymity of marriage, their early training no doubt helping

them to control the household bills without the aid of 'hops'. Some of them we hear of still through Radio Eireann or in the educational world, where they continue to make their mark.

From the floor of the House as it were, never aspiring to office but constantly harrying the officers, I can hear the brilliant and kindly Machiavellian, Tim O'Hanrahan, who later to his surprise won a popular election outside the Society with the slogan: 'Stand by your College and your College will repay'. As a result he found himself President of the S.R.C. with promises to redeem. None of us will forget the debating genius of Brian O'Nolan who was the best impromptu speaker the Society knew in these days, because from the first all his speeches were impromptu and likely to contain a sharp barb even for an unwary chairman attempting to bring him to order. The memory of Guy Thornton comes as one who loved literature and football, but hated his destined profession as an engineer. He could speak excellently in the manner of Edmund Burke before a Professor of English in the chair and in an equally successful Ciceronian manner before a Professor of Latin. I will have forgotten more names than I have remembered.

This article has been written without any of the professional aids to history. The lost minute-books of the Society contained a great deal of wit and much good writing by successive Record Secretaries. For the period covered in this contribution I have had to rely for my material on one small committee minute-book, copies of *The Chessboard* and the *National Student* (these latter in the possession of Mr. John Campion), but mainly on an ageing memory. Should I have omitted the names of distinguished men and women, I can plead that the fault is mine only in part. If there be unknown hoarders of the Society's records, they must shoulder a share of the blame.

III.—R. DUDLEY EDWARDS

THE IRISH UNIVERSITY STUDENT does not often underrate his abilities. Far more than the bookworm type, or the member of a sports team, the debater frequently lives in an atmosphere of exaltation and glorification. The L. & H. man

scorns to be regarded as the member of a mere debating society. His is a hallowed body, always assertive of its pre-eminence among student organisations, ever ready to claim its competence to discuss the most abstruse intellectual questions, quite convinced of an authoritative position in virtue of the eminence of its founder and of many of its former members. In short, the L. & H. spirit lives on from generation to generation—proud, aggressive, grandiloquent, charmingly and blissfully self-conscious.

To a first-year student in 1926, with an interest in history which few others shared, it was a matter of gratification to find a prominent notice-board in the main hall which proclaimed a forthcoming discussion upon a current question of historical interest. Very early in that first meeting it became apparent that the members of the Society were not, in any narrow sense, literary or historical in their outlook and certainly not in the sense in which these were understood in a school debating society. In fact, many of the members appeared to take a special delight in dissociating themselves from literary and historical attitudes. In what sense could the Society claim to be literary or historical?

In the first place the dignity and pomp of the chairman far transcended anything ever met in a schoolboy's experience. In face of an opposition which never ceased, in private business, to attempt to provoke him, this 'Mr. Auditor' maintained order, determined who should be heard, laid down the law, and even effectually controlled an unruly mob, whose sole concern appeared to be to demonstrate that they knew no master and feared no foe. The tacit acceptance of his immemorial right to terminate the proceedings seemed to be a sufficient threat to quell most mobs. Here was something from a historic past which helped to justify the Society's name.

Again, the private business seemed utterly incomprehensible to the novice until gradually it emerged that, week in and week out, there were appeals allowed to ancient precedents and traditions. Even when these proceedings seemed particularly futile, they were almost invariably presented in the accepted ideas of other days. They seemed quite justifiable when

couched in the expressions of former generations. If Auditors sometimes appeared to be at a loss to grapple with their questioners, there usually appeared to be some member whose knowledge of the past supplied an answer, even if the result did not always seem to satisfy the ultimate authority.

Among the officials, the record secretary in his minutes and the debaters in their speeches appeared to attain to such literary heights that once again the novice, who might doubt the purpose of the Society, was quite clear that here was an occasion—and an institution—which was only too conscious of its intellectual merit. Silently one adjusted one's definitions and accepted it that the L. & H. was an experience which must not be missed, which grew increasingly fascinating and which ended in being the centre of one's whole College concern—until as an ex-Auditor or a senior ex-student, one realised that it was time to leave all this to others.

And, finally, when a member came in for criticism, or a chairman for a vote of thanks, the highest praise appeared to be his faithfulness to old traditions—his association with the best of the past. Conversely if one disparaged one's contemporaries, or poured chill thanks upon an unfortunate visitor, it was almost invariably with a hint that he had failed to make the historical grade—or at any rate live up to the Society in its hey-day—whatever the speaker of the moment conceived that to be. Thus if, as time went on, it began to be apparent that many of the speakers were by no means 'literary-minded' and were wholly unaware of the implication of the word 'historical', one's very self-sufficiency was enough to blind one to the conclusion that the L. & H. no longer had any claim to its name. In the joy and thrill of youth one accepted the literary or historical allusion. One's own intellectual interests appeared to meet any deficiency. Or one forgot it all in the pleasure and the thrill of the wordy combat. Even in the earliest days of academic respectability, there seems little doubt to many an L. & H. man that the Society must always have thrived upon the clash of minds and the strife before the public. The L. & H., of its very nature, seems obliged to believe that it is associated with public activities—is important to the life of



COLLEGE GROUP c. 1902-03

THIRD ROW, STANDING: A. N. McLAUGHLIN; ARTHUR CLERY; F. E. HACKETT; JAMES MURNAGHAN
 SECOND ROW, STANDING: E. V. CLARKE; J. J. McDONALD; F. McDONALD; J. P. DOYLE; FR. H. BROWNE, S.J.
 FIRST ROW, SITTING: J. M. O'SULLIVAN; FR. G. O'NEILL, S.J.; W. DAWSON; R. KINAHAN.

Dublin—and, in some vague way, is conditioning the shape of Irish things to come.

Certainly this self-consciousness affected the enthusiastic members in a variety of ways. It justified the study of parliamentary procedure and debate — even if Palgrave's *Chairman's Handbook* were not there to be appealed to. It prescribed an ambition to excel in oratory not merely to the 'pot-hunters' but because the Society openly asserted its jealous insistence that its speakers compared favourably with the most eminent parliamentarians. Again if one were to survive the crude depreciation of the mob, or the fascinating indifference of the females, one was obliged to develop a power of repartee or abandon all claims to a hearing. And, lastly, if associated with the government of the Society, one became involved in an atmosphere of administrative idealism which put a premium on efficiency and necessitated a continual consideration of plans for greater glories and further achievements.

The auditorship of Paddy Byrne was perhaps unusually assertive of precedents and traditions, of literary allusions and metaphysical distinctions. Byrne had previously shone in the Solicitors Apprentices' Debating Society; he had qualified as a solicitor, and studied philosophy in the College; his election coincided with his winning the medal for the best first-year speaker. If older members attempted to patronize the Auditor, a talented committee group was perhaps more assertive than the officers had been for some years. In particular, William Binchy, both by the literary quality of his minutes and the jealous assertion of the Society's legalistic outlook, tended to become the government custodian of tradition.

This year saw the election of William Magennis as vice-president, thus emphasizing once more the connection with early days. Magennis was a prominent ex-Auditor of nearly forty years' standing who was still identified with University College as a professor. Magennis, as the chief personality of a small political party (which split off from Cumann na nGaedheal over the 1925 boundary question), provided, as chairman, perennial opportunities for topical debates.

In a sense, however, this year tended to mark time. There was no inaugural and an effort by the Auditor to revive the older tradition of securing at least one member to read a paper was not successful. The older generation asserted themselves rather aggressively at the annual general meeting but Byrne more than held his own.

The 1927 election returned John Nash, another solicitor. The older generation, and particularly J. C. Flood, rallied to Nash and a series of enterprises quickly revealed that the Society had been launched upon a wave of expansion. Nash was particularly conscious of the dignity of his office and did much to assert its prestige. The committee minute book for these years has recently been recovered and remains the sole archival source for this period in the Society's proceedings. It records on 15 November, 1927, the discussion of three motions at the instance of the Auditor. Those for the revision of the rules and the dividing of the house into a government and opposition suggest the influence of J. C. Flood. To the Auditor himself may unhesitatingly be assigned the authorship of the statement that the turbulence at present represented by the mob was detrimental to the dignity of the Society.

Two functions maintained hereafter annually for five successive years began with Nash. The reading of an inaugural address is perhaps in some societies almost an automatic event. To the L. & H., forever tempted to revolt into politics, an inaugural might have proved embarrassing to authority. The aftermath of the Civil War was still very evident in the year which witnessed the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins and the entry of Fianna Fáil into Dáil Éireann. Nash's committee risked approving a debate urging the alliance of Fianna Fáil and Cumann na nGaedheal, but O'Rourke, who succeeded him, laid down the principle that motions for debate should avoid party politics. Successive inaugural addresses took a similar line: politics went out of the inaugurals until a new world situation emerged in 1939. The inaugurals, like all such events, were particularly gratifying to those who participated. So far as the L. & H. was concerned they had the additional advantage of bringing out more particularly the association of old members

with the building up of the government of the Irish Free State since 1922. Future generations might be inclined to the view that the Society was too closely identified with *Cumann na nGaedheal*. This, however, was more apparent than real. Apart from the Chancellor, who had been elected a vice-president in the period before the Treaty of 1921, few in the *Fianna Fáil* party had close links with the College and fewer still with the L. & H. And until it had become clear that *Fianna Fáil* had fully accepted the role of an opposition party, it might have been a serious embarrassment to President Coffey if the opponents of government were too prominently represented at College public meetings. It was characteristic of him, however, to permit the *Cumann Gaedhealach*, over whose inaugural he did not preside, a greater degree of freedom in the selection of speakers. The incidence of Irish political events was never so far from the door of University College that they could be expected to leave the L. & H. unmoved if discussions arose. The years before 1932 frequently involved students in the scuffles of 'Poppy Day' while the organisation of the O.T.C. created some bad feeling among republicans. But the students themselves were the first to realise the need to preserve the L. & H. from such disputes. Apart from protest resolutions at the imprisonment by Northern authorities of Mr. de Valera or of Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, however, the L. & H. voluntarily stood apart from politics at this time if only for friendship's sake.

In the same way, the inter-debate with similar academic societies avoided the public discussion of vexed political issues. These events, beginning with that organised by Nash, were memorable for bringing the Society into contact not merely with other Irish universities but also, and upon a scale never hitherto attempted, with the universities of England, Scotland and Wales. Nash, O'Rourke, and their successors went to great trouble to make these functions an outstanding success, creating special officers directly responsible to the Auditor in order to avoid the embarrassment of being deprived of the ordinary committee through a vote of censure passed in the house. On two occasions J. C. Flood acted as master of ceremonies for

these functions and exercised a most valuable influence in inspiring enthusiasm and efficiency. The main lines of a three-day function held around St. Patrick's Day were by then sufficiently worked out to be transmitted to others. If any criticism is to be made of these functions it is that they tended to sacrifice the connections with other Irish universities in the effort to expand overseas. In this connection mention may now be made of a project which Dr. Coffey nipped in the bud. With all the enthusiasm over the success of Nash's inter-debate the special officers in the succeeding year planned a function of a more international character. Informal conversations with some Dublin diplomats being reported to the President, he promptly indicated to the secretary of debates that such projects were not for the L. & H. to organise. While Louvain might be considered within bounds, it might not be assumed that an inter-debate on a wider scale could be attempted under the aegis of a mere college society.

The success of the inter-debate had the effect of converting Dr. Coffey to giving an increased *ad hoc* grant to the Society. Finance had always been a vexed question in the Society's administration. Students were not particularly affluent; indeed the modest half-crown subscription had, in practice, long been reduced to a shilling. The major inter-debates projected by Nash could not have been carried out if John O'Donovan (later parliamentary secretary) had not suggested a financial appeal to the staff and to old members. It was the success of this appeal, repeated in the succeeding year, which led Dr. Coffey to offer a more permanent subvention on the understanding that the staff appeals were suspended.

In another direction Nash's year may be picked out as memorable. Under the influence of Ernie O'Malley, Michael Farrell, Florrie Lynch, and Roger McHugh, the committee agreed, on 21st March, 1928, to hold an extraordinary general meeting for the purpose of launching a Dramatic Club. The project having been endorsed by the Society, the Club was duly launched. Having secured presidential sanction, it transformed the *Aula Maxima* in Stephen's Green which was for this purpose provided for the first time with electric lighting and a series of plays were publicly presented.

The Auditor's consciousness of dignity was shared by his government. There might have been some reluctance in bowing to the behest that evening dress must again become the uniform worn at the committee table. There was more agreement, however, that the Society should be coaxed into becoming sufficiently respectable to justify the removal of its meetings to the Council Chamber at Earlsfort Terrace. Even the poor acoustics of this room (which many held had marred the debates of Dáil Éireann on the Treaty) did not deter committees from this view. President Coffey, however, did not accept that the conversion was so radical or that the mob spirit might not again manifest itself and the Society returned to the Stephen's Green Physics Theatre for a few more years.

In other things, too, there was a certain compromise with dignity. Committee members considered an 86 'hop' rather *infra dig*. And a treasurer who looked to a popular event to swell his money bags had to face a demand under Nash for a dance in historical costume and next year for a Gresham dance. In the first case it was agreed to hold the function in 86, and label it an optional fancy dress dance. Subsequently Arthur Clery recorded in the *Leader* that he had awarded the prize to a male angel. Nash, however, was not one of those who feared frivolity on informal occasions. If he did not, like his secretary of debates, construe historical costume to include that of supernatural beings, he was not averse to joining in the fun of the Walking Club which was organised largely by L. & H. friends and was another manifestation of this age of enterprise.

Reference to the Walking Club cannot be concluded without some mention of Dick Mulcahy. During the period 1926-30, Dick, who graduated in 1925 and is now a civil servant, could always be found among the small group who sat out to the end of the L. & H. Saturday meetings, and carried on the argument next day in the Dublin mountains. Despite his long association with it, Dick rarely spoke in the Society. It was in the main hall of U.C.D. or on the Walking Club's outings that he could be depended upon to bring down to earth the high and mighty who forgot that their moment of importance on a Saturday

night could never be prolonged over a Sunday morning. But he was equally notable for his advice to those whose social interests were proving too distracting for the success of their academic studies. It was men like Mulcahy who leavened L. & H. activities in their period of expansion.

It was also during the auditorship of Nash that the Society's officers investigated systematically its past. *A Page of Irish History: Story of University College, Dublin* which was published in 1930, as compiled by 'Fathers of the Society of Jesus', was mainly the work of Father Henry Browne, formerly Professor of Greek. In 1928 Father Browne came to Dublin to collect materials for the volume and on 19th January, 1928, from Farm Street, London, he communicated with the present writer. Father Browne's efforts led to the inclusion of the first substantial survey of the history of the Society and he also located an early committee minute book covering the years 1856 and 1857. This valuable record was subsequently deposited with the College and it is very much to be regretted that it has, together with other minute books, been since lost sight of. It did, however, make it possible to date the Society back to 1855 and it was in this year that the year 1855 was first added to the notepaper as that of the Society's foundation. Enthusiasm for the investigation led to a suggestion to Dr. Coffey that the writing of the history be approved. But the President wisely advised that this was an enterprise for some senior person. With his approval, however, a fairly systematic list of Auditors and inaugural addresses was compiled from reports in the newspapers. Some information was also secured from two of the oldest members—William Dillon and Dr. J. D. McFeeley. And either in this or in a subsequent year the Society agreed to elect as a vice-president the senior living ex-Auditor, the first of whom was William Dillon. From Colorado, Dillon signalled his acceptance and wrote to express his appreciation of this recognition of the continuity with the oldest generation in the Society's history.

The accession of O'Rourke in 1928 was a victory for oratory over an opponent, Binchy, who had the support of the self-constituted custodians of the L. & H. tradition. O'Rourke

quickly showed he was more than a mere orator. As a man of ideals and of tact, he was able to win over the traditionalists quite as successfully as had Nash, and, in addition, to secure informally the advice of the greatest academic survivors of forty years earlier. O'Rourke, moreover, had a peculiar personal advantage: while he, like his three immediate predecessors, was somewhat older than the ordinary run of L. & H. men, he possessed an unusual degree of charm and self-possession in dealing with younger men. As a teacher he had a certain degree of experience which enabled him to take advice without undue sensitivity about his office. As an orator and a man of the world, he almost unconsciously was aware that he could command their respect. As an Auditor he was never at a loss for an answer in dealing with the House. Even when his knowledge of procedure and precedent was less than that of other members he had a deliberate way of appealing to the Society's instinct for fair play. Moreover, as a practised athlete he was accustomed to giving others their opportunities and on the day of his retirement, few Auditors can have enjoyed such a unanimity of praise, such a universality of belief that his like would not be looked upon in the chair for many a day to come.

To O'Rourke succeeded Binchy, the first for some years to attain the auditorship unopposed. Binchy's tenure of office was, however, brief. After a brilliant examination for the degree of Master of Arts, he was obliged, on medical advice, to resign and, though he had held three committee meetings, he was not fated to hold the chair at a full meeting of the Society. His resignation created a serious situation. No one clearly stood out as an obvious choice for auditorship. As senior committee man the present writer had some sort of a claim for consideration but influential members of the Society were divided between those who favoured him, those who would like to have secured Tim O'Hanrahan (who at this stage was quite unique in his powers of holding the Society by his rare oratorical powers) and those who (feeling a desperate situation required a desperate remedy) urged that, contrary to all precedents, O'Rourke should again be installed. O'Hanrahan declined to go forward: he had previously resigned from the

presidency of the S.R.C. It was in these circumstances that the senior committee man took the chair at a meeting where one nomination for auditorship was put forward. And when O'Rourke's nomination was challenged he construed the rule that a nominee 'shall not previously have been Auditor of the society' to mean that he should not have been immediately previously the occupier of the office. Within a week, however, O'Rourke too resigned. His successor's only possible opponent, Tadhg Mac Firbhisigh, had, in the meantime, been suspended from the privileges of a student over the O.T.C. controversy. Thus, before the end of November 1929, I became the Auditor of the L. & H.

Binchy's treasurer had been John Kent who, with the secretaries Jim Meenan and Carroll O'Daly, were an invaluable staff for any Auditor. Their team spirit was particularly fine and their continuation in office made possible an even further extension of activities. At Professor George O'Brien's instance, the subject chosen for the inaugural address was one connected with a postgraduate thesis. The Society good-humouredly accepted that in the centenary year of Catholic emancipation the inaugural should be on: *The Irish Catholics and the Penal Laws*. But it must have been difficult to restrain smiles when one of the speakers, W. F. T. Butler, produced a whole list of topics which he declared the members might find profitable for research investigation. There were more smiles when, on the occasion of the inter-debate, two of the Welsh University Colleges selected delegates with the name of Edwards as their representatives at the inter-debate. Not merely was the Society showing a historical bent, it was apparently becoming a family affair.

Coinciding with the inter-debate, at which Kent took over from Flood as master of ceremonies, and Meenan from me as secretary of debates, there was launched the first issue of a new series of the *National Student* by a group of people who were officers and members of the L. & H. but refused to have the journal or its policy made amenable to the Society.

This was not quite a new venture. One issue of *Atlantis* had been produced in Max MacKenna's auditorship. Before

the close of 1929-30, two issues of the *National Student*, with Kent as editor, set a headline for college periodicals which in quality of matter and of printing would be hard to beat. With Meenan as sub-editor and Carroll O'Daly and Desmond Fitzgerald as business managers, Kent's productions were the work of a team which matched keenness with efficiency and enthusiasm with discrimination and critical acumen.

Looking back, one cannot but be struck with the permanent interest of these numbers. Apart from the inaugural address they did not devote an undue amount of space to the L. & H. Indeed the second issue contained a scorching criticism of the Society for its failure to pay more than lip-service to the Irish language. Its author, Diarmuid Ó Riordáin, was hardly merciful to the element in the Society which claimed for itself the credit of being the centre of student cultural activities. Of permanent value was a contribution by William Dawson on the L. & H. in his day, which he had drafted a little earlier at the time Fr. Browne had stimulated our interest in the history of the Society. That article was reprinted some years later and is again included in the present volume.

The issue which contained Dawson's article also bore the obituary, by Professor O'Brien, of W. F. T. Butler, the historian whose last public appearance had been at the Society's inaugural. Of the contents of the second issue reference here can only be made to two reviews (by Magennis and Clery) of *A Page of Irish History*—which showed the last word had not yet been written on the L. & H.

The launching of the *National Student* soon afterwards stimulated the Students' Representative Council to issue *Comhthrom Féinne* and the two publications were ultimately merged and produced under S.R.C. direction. In this instance there was not lacking a certain sense of rivalry. L. & H. officials have not been slow to assert their opinions of the S.R.C. but there was much common ground and mutual assistance. With Fay as President, the dignity of the S.R.C. was marked by the adoption of a new under-graduate gown (as well as a presidential one) and, though the students soon grew tired of them, his work for an Irish Students' Association (in which Seán Murray did much to smooth out difficulties) was destined to last.

The expansion of activities represented by the re-founded *National Student* and the co-operation with the S.R.C. and planning the Irish Students' Association led to a decision that the L. & H. should take part in the National Union of Students Congress at Cambridge in the Easter of 1930. Our participation in this event, which was critically analysed by Kent and amusingly caricatured by 'Mof' O'Flanagan in the June *National Student*, had been suggested by some of our British guests at the inter-debate. It had been made financially possible by the advertising profits on the first issue of the *National Student*. The experience was a valuable one in many ways. It was a surprise to discover that an overwhelmingly greater proportion of students got a university education in Britain. It revealed the differences of Irish and British attitudes to culture and emphasised the need for a separate Irish university students' organisation. It strengthened the bonds of unity and dissipated mutual jealousies. And it led to closer relations between Irish students north and south, particularly in international studies.

Reference in the committee minute book, on 12th February, 1930, to the work of a codification committee brings back the recollection of one major enterprise not completed for three further years. In 1930 the Society had at last accepted that the government of affairs rested, under the President, with the Auditor rather than with the committee as a whole. This issue, first clearly raised in Flood's auditorship, had again come to the fore under Nash; but with the accession of O'Rourke had become tacitly accepted. The substantial increase in attendance since the end of the Civil War and the expansion in the Society's activities had, no doubt, some influence upon a development which some members did not hesitate to describe as Fascist. When, however, the codification committee introduced the proposals for a new Constitution they were opposed for not according the right to ex-Auditors of voting at auditorial elections. One outstanding personage in that category even denied the right of the Auditor to demand from any predecessor the withdrawal of remarks construed to be a reflection upon the chair. His suspension was partly a consequence of his

successful defiance of Boylan and Byrne upon this point but it was only effected after the adjournment of the extraordinary constitutional meeting which was not, thereafter, re-convened. Thereafter the issue of ex-Auditors' privileges became involved in the auditorial election which returned Kent.

Looking back on it, a quarter of a century later, one can see that the failure to implement the new Constitution was, perhaps, fortunate. The Constitution of 1933 survived without major amendment until 1948; that of 1915 had lasted a similar time. The time was not perhaps sufficiently ripe in 1930 to settle the vexed questions arising out of the powers and prerogatives of Auditors and ex-Auditors.

If the period which closed with John Kent's accession has here been termed a self-conscious generation, it was not one in which many of the members revealed an awareness of the emergence of a new period in the College in which the L. & H. would loom less largely. Yet to glance over the issues of the *National Student* is to see how many new types of intellectual organisations were emerging. The very progeny of the L. & H., the bodies it helped to create, like the Law Society and the Irish Students' Association, drew away many who felt perhaps more intellectual scope—and less distraction—away from the atmosphere of the Saturday mob. Yet the L. & H. inevitably goes on, appealing to its dead past and its living traditions. In the years after 1930 the increased interest in the history of the Society, and the many efforts—often highly successful—to put some of it on record, testify to a new sense in the members. When a civilisation looks back, it has been argued, it has already begun to decay. If the L. & H.'s anxiety to snatch its memories from the jaws of oblivion suggests conscious old age it is, perhaps, because of an anxiety to grow old gracefully.

IV.—MERVYN WALL

WHEN I DREDGE UP my memories of the L. & H., I find myself at first with little more than the recollection of a series of rowdy Saturday nights with determined speakers trying to shout down 'the mob'. Tom O'Rourke,

Dudley Edwards and John Kent were Auditors in my time, and it seems to me at first that, only that they were young men of forceful character, no business would ever have been done. But on sifting and sorting my recollections I find that I am not quite right. I remember that really good speakers were usually listened to in respectful and interested silence; that is, speakers of the calibre of J. C. Flood, William Binchy, William P. Fay or Tim O'Hanrahan, though Tim delighted in the role of rabble-rouser.

There was, of course, the evening when Professor William Magennis, the visiting chairman, angrily told a jeering house that the L. & H. had many enemies on the College staff who were in favour of its suppression. He said that he himself was one of the Society's friends, but the exhibition he was witnessing that evening made him wonder whether he was right. But then many of us were not very impressed by Professor Magennis, who was the principal protagonist of literary censorship.

The occasion on which Professor Magennis took the chair at the L. & H. was, of course, only one of many similar evenings. In the closing years of the twenties and the opening years of the thirties, the L. & H. was frequently wild and unruly. Neither I nor my intimates took much part in the verbal horseplay; we, like nearly everyone else, went to the Physics Theatre in 86 for what was called 'a cheap Saturday night's entertainment'. Of course we were a generation who had been accustomed to a world of violence ever since we had graduated into short trousers. The moment we had come to the use of reason, the rest of humanity had lost theirs. We had put the First World War, our own War of Independence and our Civil War behind us, so what after all was a little din and uproar at the meetings of a students' society?

There was also in my time a certain undercurrent of political excitement. The curtains were trembling in the flies and were soon to fall and blot out the stage which the Cosgrave government had occupied since 1922: Fianna Fáil was elbowing its way forward, and there was the promise of revolutionary change. Extreme republicanism was constantly raising a hand here

or there, and one read and heard of uniformed police and C.I.D. activity and arrests.

It was about the same time too, that there had been a violent protest against the setting-up of the O.T.C. within the walls of the College. There had been much shouting and speechmaking by the protesting students, and much sweat lost by Dr. Conway, Registrar of the College, who had vainly tried to dribble oil on to the stormy waters; while the two army officers had stood behind their overturned tables as calm and as unconcerned as if they were on parade, as possibly they were.

In my first year in College, 1925, authority had been so foolish as to allow the British Legion to set up its Armistice Day memorial cross to the 16th (Irish) Division at the corner of St. Stephen's Green and Earlsfort Terrace, and there parade, recite prayers and blow their bugles for their dead. The proximity of the flags of empire had been too much for the student body, and during the two minutes' silence smoke and stink bombs were flung among the survivors of the Dublin Fusiliers and other famous regiments. Amid the explosion of slap bangs and the general confusion, concerted efforts were made by organised groups of students to take the Union Jacks and poppies from the ex-servicemen.

I was on the steps of the College with many others 'watching the fun', when I saw for the first time in my life police running away. It was somewhat frightening to see the cordon of civic guards which had been drawn across the road between the College and the Green, suddenly breaking, running to the sidewalks and letting through the rush of angry ex-soldiers with stones in their hands. Some windows in the College were broken, and we heard afterwards that a student had lost an eye. In the middle of the excitement, Professor Mary Hayden appeared among the demonstrators on the steps and, addressing them, rated them roundly as 'themselves imperialists'. She was told rudely to 'get in out of that', but the old woman in her academic gown persisted in telling the excited youth of the College what she thought of them.

Such was University College in my day—the bitterness of the Civil War was not long behind us. Older students like Tadhg

Forbes and Frank Ryan had carried arms on the Republican side. They were there to be looked at and listened to, if you wanted to listen. Most of us, however, or at least so I think, were less exercised than they by an issue which seemed to have been decided before our time. It was as if the savage quarrel had been between our elder brothers: it was not really our quarrel, though as a matter of family loyalty we believed ourselves to be on one side or the other. Such was the College, and the L. & H. was a small mirror of it: rough, good-humoured, irresponsible and very restless.

What I liked most about College was the very genuine democracy which existed there. There was no vulgar display of wealth—the new Irish industrialists were only in course of being coaxed into existence—everyone seemed to be as hard-up as it is proper for students to be. There was a reasonable tolerance of the opinions of others: anti-Gaelic revivalists disputed good humouredly with language fanatics; and when the previous Saturday's discussion at the L. & H. was revived and argued about in the Lunch Room over the cups of coffee served by Miss Tully, obscurantists and liberals exchanged endless words but never blows. Such rowdiness as there was at L. & H. meetings rose from youthful ebullience: the speakers and interrupters had frequently their tongues in their cheeks: few of them would have defended their expressed opinions to the death.

I was a student of the College for some years before I joined the Literary and Historical Society, and it was just before my membership that a small drama group was formed within the L. & H. My recollection is that the President of the College, Dr. Coffey, rather resisted the formation of a Dramatic Society and that this group within, and financed by, the L. & H. was the thin end of the student wedge. The group, led by Ernie O'Malley, acquitted itself so well, however, that presidential permission was given in the following year, and a fully fledged Dramatic Society came into being. Paddy Donovan became director; he was succeeded by Donough Coffey, and I came third. My own directorship was a troubled one. I resigned after a disagreement with Dr. Coffey as to the Dramatic Society's

right to choose itself the play for its annual public production. *The Importance of Being Earnest* had been suggested, and Dr. Coffey referred our choice to the professor of English Literature, who reported unfavourably, saying to me that he 'did not think it proper that the students should go out under the banner of Oscar Wilde'. We then proposed a play called *Winterset*, which was all about Vikings and similar husky characters with wings on their helmets, but Dr. Coffey imposed a veto, partly because he thought that the play would not be a commercial success and partly because he thought that influence from outside the College was being exercised upon us in the choice of play. I believed the issue of freedom for the Dramatic Society to be an important one, and resigned from the directorship and from the Society. 'Foolish young man' was Dr. Coffey's comment. As it happened, *The Importance of Being Earnest* was the play accorded presidential approval in the end, and it was put on some months later at the Gate.

Those couple of years during which I was with the Dramatic Society, were, however, of the greatest value to me, as without them I might never have discovered in myself the urge to creative writing. We had great fun too messing round in our one little room at the top of the stairs in 86, and doing wonders with the one electric point which the College allowed us. Roger McHugh was a very active producer and put on *Twelfth Night* with Hilton Edwards to assist. Roger made an excellent Malvolio and Florrie Lynch played Maria. Denis Devlin was Feste, and I spoke Valentine's nine lines with dignity and afterwards stood round in the background with my arms folded as and when instructed to do so. I remember one bright afternoon when we entertained Sir Frank Benson and his company to tea in the Council Chamber, and I remember Cyril Cusack and Brian O'Brien as valuable members of my committee. Cyril had just come to College and was a frequent attender at the L. & H. We knew him to have come of a family with a great acting tradition and thought him a great acquisition to the Dramatic Society.

I remember much else of that same Society, of friends the news of whose deaths, nearly all before they reached the age of

thirty, was each time like a blow over the heart—Nora O’Keeffe, Niamh Fitzgerald, Petee O’Hagan, Tim O’Hanrahan and the L. & H. Auditor, John Kent; but perhaps I am letting my own particular interest in the Dramatic Society carry me away. I hope, however, that the U.C.D. Dramatic Society, whenever it finds itself naming with pride the dramatists, producers, scene designers and actors whom it has given to the Irish Theatre, will always remember that it stems from the older Society. It was the L. & H. which supplied the twigs and made the nest, gave birth to and watched the fledgling until it was strong enough to stretch its wings.

After the Saturday nights spent at the L. & H., some of us would meet on the Sunday mornings, usually at Rathfarnham or Dundrum, and set out for the Dublin or Wicklow Mountains. As I knew the hills well, I was at one time appointed guide to the Walking Club, as we called ourselves, but I don’t think I ever guided the members anywhere very exciting. The trouble was that our speed was perforce the speed of the slowest member. We invariably became scattered over a mile or two of road, and always seemed to be waiting for the stragglers to appear round a distant bend. *An Oige* had not at that time been founded, and the horrible word ‘hiker’ was unknown. The countryside used to stare at us and our alpenstocks in the queer cow-like way that countryside do.

Perhaps it is understandable that they should have done so. Those of our members who were prominent in the L. & H. spent most of their time on the road gesturing at one another with walking sticks as they fought out again the battles of the night before. I remember one of our women members coming dressed in four overcoats and her brother’s blazer—probably the day was cold. In 1930, John Kent and I led a schism. We thought that the Walking Club was becoming too unwieldy and that the majority were not taking their walking seriously enough, so off we went at the head of a splinter group with strong leg muscles and eyes fixed on distant mountain peaks.

Most of us in later life, give way, on occasion, to sentimentality and persuade ourselves for a moment or two that the sun has never since been quite so embracingly warm nor the wind

so keen as they were when we were twenty years old. What we did experience for a unique year or two was, of course, uncritical companionship. In my own case my interest veered towards literature and the theatre, and very shortly I only wished to spend my time with people whose interests were the same. It was Denis Devlin who first suggested to me that I should try my hand at writing, and I was soon destroying decent sheets of foolscap that had never done me any harm. There was practically no literary activity in the College in my time, so that when Denis Devlin and Brian Coffey produced jointly a slim booklet of poems, they created quite a sensation. Brian, who was nicknamed 'Large Coffee' and his younger brother Don 'Small Coffee', were the sons of the President; they were well-known College figures in those years.

Those who decide when young to launch themselves on to the little breezes of literature, acquire as if by magic a self-confidence about their abilities in that regard which is truly astonishing. I suppose they acquire too what their honest-to-God fellow students would quite properly call arrogance. I remember leading Brian and Denis on a walk over the Military Road to Mrs. McGurk's Tea Room at the head of Glencree. With my newly found enthusiasm for the drama I was full of old chat about the fact that in this house John Millington Synge had lived for a month while he wrote *In the Shadow of the Glen*. We respectfully studied Synge's photograph on the table. When Mrs. McGurk, in answer to our questions, had told us that she used to bring in Synge's shaving water each morning and how Mr. Fay used to come up on a sidecar from Enniskerry to see the dramatist, she solemnly produced the Visitors' Book which Synge himself had signed. Brian and I gravely took the proffered pen and entered our names. Denis quietly waited till last and then wrote his name across ours so as to half-obliterate them. Brian, with his hands in his pockets, a great expanse of shirt showing, and a red tie floating casually over his shoulder, was a colourful personality. He used to relate with great glee how on one occasion two cab-drivers solemnly watched his approach up Hatch Street. As he passed them, his head in the air, one remarked loudly to the other: 'That's why Germany won the War'.

An important event of those years was the revival of *The National Student*. John Kent, who became Auditor of the L. & H. in the following year, was its editor; and we thought the first issue a great credit to him. He was a hardworking man, engaging painstakingly in many College activities. He spoke conscientiously every Saturday night at the L. & H. and succeeded Dudley Edwards in the auditorship.

It is strange how the odds and ends remain in one's mind for so many years, while that which was probably more significant escapes one quite. I always remember a red-haired student from Belfast who seemed to stand all day under the clock in the Main Hall 'sick for home . . . amid the alien corn'. The only part of Dublin that he could tolerate was the North Side 'because it was like Belfast'.

Of course the chief stander-in-the-hall was J. C. Flood, who stood there for years only taking time off now and then to collect another degree. He was a noted woman-hater and always seemed to have a group of male students about him to whom he imparted bitter wisdom. He was said to have served in the French Foreign Legion, though he was far from having the cut of a P.C. Wren creation. My novelist's imagination runs away with me at this point, and I can see the possibility of a lovely story of a man who acquires distinction by simply standing still always in the one place and allowing legend to fasten itself to him like moss.

'Our Sidney, our perfect man' was, of course, William P. Fay, one of the leading lights and best speakers in the L. & H., president of the S.R.C., active in the League of Nations Society and in an Aquinas group. I remember his attempt to collect money for the dying *Irish Statesman*, a laudable effort little appreciated by his fellow students. In appearance like a Greek god, he brought dignity and grace to every society of which he was a member, and William Binchy in affected rage once said of him: 'The fellow'd make an excellent monument', which was quite true, for Bill Fay bore such a resemblance to Sir John Gray that you could quite easily imagine him standing on a similar pedestal with all his virtues draped about him.

It was he who organised a handful of us to act as stewards

when Father Tom Finlay was presented with his portrait. The occasion was one which I remember well because, while on duty at the foot of the staircase in the Main Hall, Tim Healy was delivered to me with the injunction that I should see him safely into the Council Chamber on the floor above. Tim, then retired from the Governor-Generalship, was in fact making his last public appearance. He died a few months later. He was quite feeble and leaned heavily on my arm all the way up the stairs. He stopped twice, once to complain that there was no lift, and then to remark to me that, although he had done a great deal to establish the National University, he had in fact never before been in the Earlsfort Terrace buildings. I was thinking furiously about Parnell all the time and wondering what the old man leaning so heavily on my arm would say if I were to make some remark about the part he had played in bringing about the great man's downfall.

Another William was the outstanding figure in the L. & H. in my time—William Binchy, who had the grievous ill-luck after being elected to the auditorship to be prevented by illness from taking office. From his place at a table in the lunch room William Binchy, Johnson-like, thumped the floor with a stick and commented on men and affairs. He sucked interminably at a pipe so thickly coated with carbon that tobacco could only be introduced by poking it in with the point of a thin pencil.

On peering back through the murky waters of a quarter of a century, what surprises me most is that while one half of my student acquaintance has distinguished itself in the public service, in the University, in law and in the other professions, the other half seems all to have died young. I am slightly amused too at our enthusiasms in those days, and at our conviction that everything in which we interested ourselves was important, and that we never appeared to foresee a time when we would think differently. All of which brings to my mind the saying that experience takes away more than it gives.

Chapter VI.

THE LAST OF THE OLD PHYSICS (1930-1939)

In these years the Society fought a losing battle against the problems of its accommodation. Inaugurals and inter-debates were held, with a deceptive spaciousness, in the Council Chamber in Earlsfort Terrace. The ordinary meetings of the Society were still held in the Old Physics Theatre in 86, where attendances of forty or fifty had been considered excellent in the first decade of the century. The expansion of the College brought larger crowds. In 1927, there were 1,168 students, not many more than the total of ten years before. By 1931, at the end of what roughly corresponds to a student generation, there were 1,913 and, by 1938, 2,271. In the next year the reconstruction of 86 was commenced; and the Society was forced, with mingled relief and regret, to seek new meeting places.

I.—R. P. DUNNE

WHEN THE EDITOR asked, me to contribute something towards the contents of what is surely an excellent enterprise, I was at first shocked by his daring. The *affaire Dunne* is remembered only because I was regarded as a sort of revolutionary who dared to oppose the outworn fabric of the Society's Constitution. And the upholder of the long established traditions of the Society was the present Editor, my friend James Meenan.

In order to understand my part and to fathom my actions in the election of 1932, it is essential that the reader should be informed of my conception of what really constituted that body of men familiarly known as the L. & H. Its mere name carried with it portentous implications to the neophyte under-

graduate, no matter what were his own peculiar limitations in respect of upbringing, education, moral character, personal wealth and the scores of other ingredients that go to make up the fledgling man or woman. This citadel of reputed greatness was approached in awe by almost all visitors to 86.

For my part, despite having been a fairly successful aspirant in a school debating society, when I ventured to look in at the L. & H., my baptism of fire was in being forced to stand at the entrance until James Meenan, then record secretary, had finished what seemed like a Chestertonian monologue punctuated occasionally by guffaws, accompanied by thunderous Churchillian asides from the Auditor. And on this first visit, I got a glimpse of those other leaders, or future leaders, who for the next few years were in one way or another to influence my views and embolden my endeavours to gain some form—even if illusory—of acceptance.

Soon I became more known, less bashful and, consequently, spoke frequently. Gradually I became tolerably acceptable; and my masters must have visualised a certain temerariousness that, in time, could be tamed so that I would be of some use as an accomplice! Soon I found W. P. Fay inviting me, as a first-year speaker, to represent that contingent in Students' Union activities. W.P., who was above all noted for a wise prevision, cannot now be criticised for not foreseeing what the future held! In after years, I often wonder whether he regretted his responsibility for the lethal force he set in motion. Be it noted, I owed quite a lot to his paternal attitude, for which I was very grateful.

By the time Carroll O'Daly (of whom more anon) reigned as Auditor, I had reached the semi-heights. I was treasurer and secretary of debates, which last office, I am informed, I was the last to hold, as its functions became obsolete. This is the genesis of my behaviour as manifested in the 1932 election which, in my innocence, I cannot for the life of me appreciate as being the cause of such hullabaloo and flurry. Nevertheless, it was; and what reverberations ensued! Once again it is necessary to interrupt the main theme, which by now should be clear to all; a sort of apologia for (a) why I ever stood for auditorship, and (b) the nefarious means which are alleged to have been employed.

When I joined the committee in the exalted capacity mentioned above, I soon realised that this body was in no sense free. It was a junta possessing unwritten succession rights which seemed to date back to the very early days. In fact it was a haven of nepotism—unconsciously, maybe—but its persuasive powers were such that while in theory election to it was open to all and sundry, in fact no one ever got elected to a position of power unless he was prepared to acquiesce in its strong conventions. Certain of the more ridiculous aspects of this convention amuse me to this day. At that time, for instance, every Auditor received the gold medal for Oratory at the end of his term, irrespective of his merits as a speaker. If you glance at the lists of Auditors and medallists in the appendices you will note this phenomenon.

These were some of the grave defects in the structure of the Society and they did not augment its credit. Again, the 'mob', fathered by that irascible wit, Brian O'Nolan, were completely ignored save as fodder to be roystered at by the more stentorian and empty-headed speakers. The average committee was impervious to the implications of G.K.C.'s crack about hating the mob and hating humanity; and it certainly had no fears whatsoever of 'the hooves of the swinish multitude'. I would ask you to remember this mob business, as it has a very important part to play in my story.

Before I proceed with the gravamen of these reflections, I would like to say a few words about those whom I remember best over the dividing years. My last Auditor was the one most intimately known to me both in the L. & H. and afterwards at the Bar; Carroll O'Daly. The first impression one received was of a straightforward and simple sincerity. Allied to this, there was a dynamic energy which physically displayed itself in every movement. I don't think I know of anyone who worked so hard; he wrote bilingually scores of articles whilst still engaged in arduous studies in College and in reading for the Bar. As a speaker I would not rate him in the top flight: he was much too staccato in his utterance, yet he was effective because his audience felt that he knew what he was talking about.

There were others who influenced the atmosphere of the L. & H. When J. C. Flood was announced to speak, the hall

was packed and the crowd, which otherwise might remain blissfully bucolic, became sentient and enthusiastic. Then there was that colourful character, Michael Farrell. He was an excellent speaker but, I thought, spoiled things by being patronising to youth. Before I should forget, I want to recall the name of a great friend, Eddie Fitzgibbon. My memory's puppet show recalls him vividly. I have a strong recollection that he achieved a silver medal for Oratory. Ill-health cut short his bright and swashbuckling visits to the L. & H. He was a charming fellow, who should have lived as a squire. Roger McHugh I cannot remember as having had very much to say in my time, although he was on committees just prior to then. I remember him best in connection with the English Literature Society where his addresses were noteworthy, and also for his brilliant articles on drama in the *National Student*.

In my time, there was no want of attendance or enthusiasm. Everybody was welcome. The room was inevitably packed. Even at this distance of time, I can see the individual profiles; they may appear rather hazy now, but how they are imprinted on my memory! I am forced to leave out of account many whom I would like to mention, and I trust that they will understand.

Let me commence with Joe Kenny. In a sense the best compliment to the Society was that Joe, notwithstanding his infinite commitments with shooting and fishing, was able to spend quite a lot of his time with us; and his contributions were invariably pungent and to the point, whether the matter at issue was flippant or otherwise.

'Demmy' Walsh, one of the most capable of correspondence secretaries, also proved himself to be an excellent companion and speaker when we travelled together to Cardiff for an inter-varsity debate. Another man who held that post later was 'Dinny' Ua Donnchadha. He was one of my principal sponsors during my auditorial election and was untiring in his efforts. He was a vigorous personality behind the scenes and an informed speaker.

In those days, people like Seán Murray were irregular in attendance. Seán always reminded me of Tim O'Hanrahan. No man had a better sense of humour. Like Tim, he was

capable of a long diatribe on a complex subject without failing to see, and express, its humorous aspects. Withal, he was really serious; and the listener became aware that underneath the utterance, his mind was irrevocably made up. For sheer power of utterance, there were few to rival Brian Ó Brolcháin.

In mentioning Vivion de Valera here, I am at a disadvantage in so far as it involves telling a story against myself. Vivion was a most active and conscientious member of the Society. But in spite of his interest in the meetings, he was essentially solitary: I mean that he adopted a certain dogmatism in his approach to members; in other words, he was totally individualistic and independent. He allied himself in a degree with the *Pro Fide* group. It happened that I met him one day near the College Library. He made as if to pass me, but suddenly turned around and said: 'Listen, Dick, is this talk of buying votes true? I was a supporter of yours, but, you know, never a *militant* one'. I really forget how I replied, but to this day I cannot dissociate the implications of the word 'militant' from the ecclesiastical interests of *Pro Fide*. I feel certain that Vivion's conscience did not allow him to vote for me. As a speaker he was forceful, polished and intellectual; and his speeches often indicated a remarkable acquaintance with philosophical thought.

Charlie Starkey had been defeated by John Kent in the auditorial elections of 1930. The first election, which Charlie successfully petitioned, had certain features similar to the one in which I was involved later. But on this occasion, the hereditary conservatives themselves had to employ means which they were later to describe as nefarious when employed by me! But it was a confused election. The story is told of one old school-fellow of mine who refused to vote for John on the ground that he was a Clongownian, and campaigned for Charlie—who, unknown to my friend, suffered from the same handicap. In the event John won out, but I have always felt sorry that Charlie never sat in the auditorial chair. He had a pugnacious bull-dog utterance, its truculence occasionally tempered by a wry sense of humour.

Tommy Lynch and Dermot Hanly were talented men who belonged to a group that then styled themselves the *Pro Fide*

society. Tommy was on John Kent's committee when I was correspondence secretary. Both Tommy and Dermot opposed James and myself at the election. Michael Duignan, though a little senior, was another notable speaker of this time.

It is fitting that I should mention those who did not speak often at the meetings. I have always been of opinion that they were an indispensable and valuable asset to the Society. For the most part, they were people who had indeed something to say but, by choice or otherwise, decided not to voice their opinions. But, outside the meetings, their talk and discussions about what they had heard and witnessed were of immense help in upholding the Society's prestige. With them, there was no sense of rivalry: it was a case of disinterested evaluation of speeches and personalities.

Unfortunately I am forced to bring the ladies within this category: several of them spoke but not often enough to be included as regular speakers. Their contribution to the Society's proceedings had good results. Since I am concerned in giving some of my recollections of them, it is not irrelevant to recall a remark that was made to me, and substantiates my general view. In the spring of 1931 I met W. B. Yeats coming out of the National Library. As we proceeded towards the Shelbourne, the talk was about his active interest in debating societies in London around the 1890's. I mentioned that I was connected with the L. & H. Yeats paused, and then flabbergasted me by saying: 'I am told that the women actually speak there now . . . and what is more, are very good'. I will never know from what source he got his information; but I do remember that he told me that he had been at meetings of the Society in the past.

Pat Browner at one time was constantly in attendance. She was a proficient speaker but she excelled at committee meetings where her experience was of immense help. Máirín MacDermott was an excellent treasurer. Her tall and dignified appearance made it a pleasure to listen to her. I seem to recall Kathleen Daly as having been on one of the committees. She had a retiring manner; but I have known her to jump up and flay some foolish intruder who happened to say something with which she disagreed! Betty Kettle and Ruth Drumgoole occasionally

spoke in the evening, when the room began to thin out. It might be assumed that this was due to diffidence; but that was not so. Both took a particular view of the task in hand and had prepared their speeches with great care and seriousness. The results were impressive. Betty inherited from her famous father, among other sterling qualities, a large sense of humour. Ruth was more studious and serious; but both in their different ways were worthy assets to the Society. And another lady speaker was Una O'Dwyer, who was a very effective speaker in a quiet manner.

Among other regular attenders was T. G. Clarke, familiarly known as 'Comrade' Clarke. How that appellation was derived I have completely forgotten; but it was used to banter Tom whenever he was persuaded to get on his feet. He became the mascot of the mob. Cyril Cusack, afterwards so distinguished an actor, sat on a committee with me during Carroll O'Daly's auditorship. I remember that he had once the audacity to accuse me of being guilty of Machiavellian tactics! Nevin Griffith, although he rarely if ever spoke, was of tremendous assistance as a critic. He had immense powers of conversation and I always regretted that he could not be persuaded into expressing his highly individualistic views at our debates. Jim Kent, a first-year in those days, was already a forceful speaker.

It would be absurd not to mention some of the chairmen who presided during my time. Invariably, when it was my job to secure one, I was received with graciousness and given to believe that the invitation was regarded as a high honour. By virtue of their distinguished background, these men lent a tone of dignity to the proceedings. It is inevitable that my views on this subject must be personal and be understood as such.

Sam Waddell, better known as Rutherford Mayne, was with us one night. He was a real catch. A dramatist of rare humour and a notable figure in the Land Commission, he seemingly possessed all the requirements of the perfect chairman. His tact, wit and urbanity were received with overwhelming approval.

R. J. P. Mortished surrendered some of his time to come along. His very great gifts as a speaker—easily one of the best among chairmen—were sometimes unnoticed because of a

certain intangible reserve. As an expounder of economic themes, his exceptional flair reminded me of Senator Joseph Connolly, another valuable chairman. Dr. Jim Magennis revelled in helping the Society. During one meeting, he told me with great pride that he should really have been an actor; and, for this reason alone, I think that he enjoyed the hurly-burly of the talking. Of course there were others who in different ways helped to guide us. It would be impertinent to ignore the life-long interest that Professor M. J. Ryan showed in the Society. Johnny Belton embellished the atmosphere with his wit and learning. Seán Hooper became a frequent and popular chairman soon after leaving College; as did Sarsfield Hogan. Both of them had the advantage of being recognised virtuosos—or *virtuosi*—in the realm of sport. In one way or another we were beneficiaries of all our chairmen. The Society owes them a deep debt of gratitude.

The election of 1932 looms before me. Prior to this, the position appeared stodgy; there was a general falling off in enthusiasm and apathy prevailed. Various suggestions, coming often from most strange quarters, were mooted as to possible candidates. It is true that there were some fairly obvious and likely possibilities. As for myself I had qualms about the worthwhileness of the whole thing. Inevitably at some stage the situation had to be sorted out and clarified. The day of reckoning was at hand!

I have always maintained that, contrary to the school textbook version, Ireland is a matriarchal social unit, one of the few of its kind in the world. Despite that, you might reasonably expect its strong men and leaders to break away from the shackles and set themselves free. Alas! it is the other way around. All the legendary figures of the past, including the prominent leaders for centuries even to the present day, have been victims or beneficiaries—it depends how you choose—of the system.

So it came about with me. My irresolution whether I should stand for election or not was unexpectedly solved in a manner which followed the usual pattern of my peers. In the history of the L. & H. it was the most ignoble and painful example of succumbing to the prevailing temptation. For some strange

and apparently inexplicable reason, I was persuaded into a wholehearted conviction that there must be some validity in the German saying: *Das Ewig-Webliche zieht uns hinan*; and believe me, from that time I was no longer a personality but a mere chattel of feminine whims and arrogance! I was nominated; likewise my opponents. Thence there was no possibility of retreat: go on or else be trampled underfoot with contumely and scorn. James Meenan, had he known this at the time, would probably have appreciated the sorry position in which I was perversely placed, and in all probability would have decided, as an act of gallantry, to retire from the lists. But then he would have had his own partisans to reckon with. James, indeed, had certainly nourished auditorial ambitions; but at this time he was deeply involved in the Boat Club and appeared but rarely during O'Daly's year until nominations approached. I suspect that he needed some prodding by the conservatives before he decided to go up.

I decided, once shuffled about, to make the best of it and face the electorate. I had been in rebellion against the system for so long that there was no way open but to attack it at its foundations. From experience I knew the mob were with me, not in a real active sense but from a practical viewpoint. The mob was apt to be mercurial in its habits; in other words, it was totally unstable and unreliable in its loyalties. One had always to be aware of any change of view.

The position as to voting was always open to question. It could be said with truth that nearly all the subscriptions tendered were from people who wished to vote; but in fact this tendering did not, in practice, take place until the penultimate moment for doing so. So a man like my opponent could always rake up old slackers. As I saw it the position was untenable. Had there been a vote taken at any given meeting by a simple showing of hands, and the mob had supported me at the time, the result would have been a foregone conclusion. The difficulty was that this mob, like all mobs, had no ready money; and therefore, within the framework of the existing rules, where a paid subscription was a necessary preliminary before voting, they were automatically rendered voiceless. I was forced to the

conclusion that this stipulation was entirely antiquated and should be replaced by the ordinary democratic procedure governing elections. This viewpoint was shared by many others. Were you to exclude the mob from the L. & H., then it would fail for want of attendance and then even the junta of which I have spoken would perforce disperse. The essence of the thing is obviously that a society of this kind must have an audience and it is only commonsense that the audience should have a considerable voice through popular voting in selecting the officers. Plainly any other theory cannot stand a moment's consideration.

As I saw how things stood, it seemed to me that there was no necessity whatever to contravene the ordinary law in order to facilitate any individual who felt disposed to vote, but was precluded from so doing because he could not finance the purchase, so to speak, of the ticket for his entrance to the polling booth. In the ordinary public elections it is notoriously the case that all kinds of means are employed to fetch people to the poll. The question of bribery only arises when somebody has been offered a tangible reward either in money, or otherwise, in consideration of voting in a certain way. In my opinion there was not a whit of difference between, say, giving the price of a bus fare or a lift, as happens in the parliamentary elections, and giving the price of membership to a prospective voter in the L. & H. elections. In neither case is there the slightest trace of bribery, coercion or even persuasion. Therefore any suggestion that I 'paid' for votes is a palpable absurdity.

I am making no attempt here at idle and feeble evasion; and furthermore, I am not denying that in the case of several students their membership was indeed secured by financial help. It is quite another thing to say that these people were asked to vote for me. After the lapse of over twenty years I strenuously deny such a suggestion. Moreover, since there was no inducement to vote at all, which indeed I know from evidence subsequently obtained did in fact happen in a number of cases, the divergence from what was regarded as proper is still further minimised. Also, it must be remembered that since the time of its foundation the L. & H. had greatly extended its popularity,

and hence the numbers of those attending its meetings had overwhelmingly increased. Over the years it had developed from a mere literary and intellectual coterie into a vast congregation whose members were drawn from every conceivable type in the student body. In such circumstances it was high time to change the method of election. The aforesaid represents my views as to the ethics of the case.

Canvassing proceeded vigorously and I don't think that it is hyperbole to suggest that in many cases, irrespective of particular predispositions towards the candidates, quite a lot of 'helping' to become members took place surreptitiously. There was a tenseness in the atmosphere that made me feel to a certain extent isolated! I had the conviction, rightly or wrongly, that I was acting alone without much real support. Such supporters as I had were disorganised and at variance on several issues. Frankly, the outlook did not look particularly rosy.

Eventually the election was held, and I won. A petition was put in motion, based on the alleged irregularities. The supporters of James looked askance at me as I passed. I had the impression that their thoughts ran nearly to the point of uttering: Why did you spoil the natural order of the succession and oppose authority? They gave the appearance of a united and tenacious force; a solid phalanx of loyalty to James! Our personal relations represented one of those strange and mysterious paradoxes. No doubt in deference to his supporters, James seemed forced to adopt, at least in the College or its environs, an air of stoicism, an awareness that matters would eventually be rectified in accordance with justice! Outside the College, at the King's Inns and elsewhere, it was a very different matter; and our respective adherents who glared at each other in the College might have been horrified by our friendship. It was the proper way.

Earlier on, I have made it clear that there would be no recriminations; hence I will avoid referring to some important personalities involved in the hearing of the petition. Nevertheless some people must inevitably be mentioned.

Denis J. Coffey was the President of U.C.D. in those days. I recall being summoned for audition. Most students usually

sought audience when there was some trouble over the result of an examination and, I am told, often with good effect. My position was different: I had an uneasy feeling that I was about to be pilloried. He met me in an affable enough manner and forthwith made some remark to the effect that he understood I was involved in an L. & H. election dispute. He spoke like one seeking some enlightenment. I agreed that that was so. Then he continued, with long pauses, to pronounce a homily which showed that he was no mere seeker after truth but knew it already! The kernel of his speech—if I am allowed to describe it so—was that he prayed for a compromise. I asked why; and those of you who are acquainted with his mode of speech will agree with my attempt at verbatim accuracy. He said: ‘Well you see, Dunne—you see—a compromise—a compromise, Dunne—is often—Dunne, a good thing. Besides, Dunne (*a long and sinister pause*)—you might be glad, Dunne—you know, Dunne, what I mean (*I didn’t*)—you might be glad of a compromise—afterwards—afterwards (*in a higher voice*), Dunne!’

The implications in the last part of his sentence looked dangerously like a threat. The conference lasted unduly long. I told him that I would not agree, nor would I expect my opponent (the petitioner) to do otherwise. There were other tiresome interviews with the President, but with no result that interfered with the inexorable flow of events.

I propose to say little concerning the actual hearing of the petition. Tim O’Hanrahan dominated the scene. I could see that he was partial. There can be no denying his amazing gifts both as a speaker and an administrator; and I think that he was in his element in the electoral commission, glorying in his knowledge of procedural law, etc., etc. About this time I was asked why I had not given up the ghost and pleaded guilty. I cannot now remember my exact reply. But, in the light of subsequent experience, what a mistake it would have been! After all this Court of Enquiry gave ample opportunity for budding lawyers to test their mettle. Here I must especially mention Andy O’Keeffe, who played a large part in the proceedings; in this case it has certainly turned out that the child was father of the man.

James won the day: the Court's verdict was against me. The only satisfaction I could snatch, if I was jealous, was the fact that his year of office had been truncated, just as it would have been had I accepted the President's advice—'a compromise, Dunne, a compromise'. I refrained from seeking election on the second occasion. By the time that all the contentious matter had been resolved and a decision reached, I had come to the conclusion that there would be no useful purpose in my running a second time unless the constitution of the Society was radically altered in conformity with my ideas as to its electoral procedure.

It is getting late now, gentlemen—oh! very late—we won't bother with a formal vote on the motion. I suggest a show of hands! *Nihil ut fuerit in suffragiis voce melius.*¹

II.—BRIAN O'NOLAN

AN INVITATION TO WRITE a few notes on my own day in U.C.D. and the L. & H.—roughly from 1929 to 1934—revealed that one effect of university education seems to be the distortion or near-eradication of the faculty of memory. I retain only the vaguest notion of how important rows arose, what they were really about and how they were quenched, whereas some sharp images in the recollection relate to trivial and absurd matters: but perhaps that is a universal rather than a university infirmity.

Architecturally, U.C.D. reminds me of a certain type of incubator, an appropriate parallel—full of good eggs and bad eggs and 'gluggers'. I entered the big Main Hall at an odd hour on the second day of Michaelmas term 1929, looked about me and vividly remember the scene. The hall was quite empty. The plain white walls bore three dark parallel smudgy lines at elevations of about three, five and five-and-a-half feet from the tiled chessboard floor. Later I was to know this triptych had been achieved by the buttocks, shoulders, and hair oil of lounging students. They had, in fact, nowhere else to lounge,

¹ Cicero. *De Legibus*. III. xv. (The passage ends: *sed obtineri an possit videndum est.*—Ed.)

though in good weather many went out and sat on the steps. Before I left College, a large 'students' room' had been provided in the semi-ruinous remnant of the old Royal University premises, which is still behind the U.C.D. façade; this room was destined to become the home of really ferocious poker schools. The ladies had a room of their own from the start. The only other amenity I can recall pre-1930 was a small restaurant of the tea-and-buns variety which provided the sole feasible place *intra muros* for the desegregation of the sexes. Later a billiards table was conceded, possibly in reality a missionary move to redeem poker addicts. Lecture theatres were modern and good, the lectures adequate though often surprisingly elementary, and it was a shock to find that Duggie Hyde spoke atrocious Irish, as also did Agnes O'Farrelly (though the two hearts were of gold). Skipping lectures while contriving a prim presence at roll-call became a great skill, particularly with poker and billiards men.

The Republican versus Free State tensions were acute at this time, but one other room was set aside for the non-academic use of students; it was a recruiting office for a proposed National Army O.T.C. When it opened, a body of students led by the late Frank Ryan, then editing *An Phoblacht* and himself a graduate, came down with sticks and wrecked the joint. And there, I can't remember whether anybody was identified and fired for that!

The President for my span was Dr. Denis J. Coffey, a stand-offish type and a poorish public speaker, but a very decent man withal. He lived only round the corner but never came or went otherwise than in a cab. That may seem odd now, but at that time it was the minimum requisite of presidential dignity. Many will recall the hall porters of that and preceding eras—Ryan and his assistant Jimmy Redmond, made in the proportions of Mutt and Jeff. Ryan was the real Dublin man, thin and tall with bad feet, a pinched face behind costly glasses and adorned with a moustache finished to points like waxed darning needles. Jimmy was more plebeian and ordinary-looking, and often more useful. Both, alas, are long dead. I hope Peter recognised two of his own trade.

The students' many societies, of which the L. & H. was the principal one and the oldest, held their meetings in a large building at 86 Stephen's Green. In my day it was a very dirty place and in bad repair, in the care of an incredible porter named Flynn whose eyes were nearly always closed, though not from an ocular complaint or mere sleep. If I am not mistaken, lighting was by gas, and it was in this 86, in an upstairs semi-circular lecture theatre that the L. & H. met every Saturday night. It was large as such theatres go but its seating capacity could not exceed two hundred, whereas most meetings attracted not fewer than six hundred people. The congestion, disorder and noise may be imagined. A seething mass gathered and swayed in a very large lobby outside the theatre, some sat on the stairs smoking, and groups adjourned to other apartments from time to time for hands of cards. Many students participated in the Society's transactions from the exterior lobby by choice, for once inside there was no getting out unless one was a lady student staying in one of the residential halls run by nuns, who imposed a ten o'clock curfew. The mass exit of these ladies always evoked ribald and insulting commentary. A particular reason why many remained outside was the necessity to be free to make periodical trips to the Winter Palace at the corner of Harcourt Street, a pub where it was possible to drink three or four strong pints at sevenpence each.

This most heterogeneous congregation, reeling about, shouting and singing in the hogarthian pallor of a single gas-jet (when somebody had not thought fit to extinguish the same) came to be known as the mob, and I had the honour to be acknowledged its president. It is worth noting that it contained people who were not students at all. A visitor would probably conclude that it was merely a gang of rowdies, dedicated to making a deafening uproar the *obbligato* to some unfortunate member's attempts to make a speech within. It was certainly a disorderly gang but its disorders were not aimless and stupid, but often necessary and salutary. It could nearly be claimed that the mob was merely a severe judge of the speakers. In a document he issued in connection with his own candidature for the auditorship, here is what Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh wrote about them:

I have no faith in quack-police remedies in dealing with the Mob. Any good speaker can subdue them. It is his pleasure, pride and triumph. I consider the lack of courtesy in other parts of the House equally annoying and unfortunately not eradicable at the hands of good speakers.

I believe that the men at the door—some of them better intellectually than our speakers—will respond to an appeal given in a gentlemanly way and backed by personality.

The crowded House is the soul of the L. & H. It makes the gathering electric.

I agree with that last sentence absolutely. The Commerce Society also held weekly debates in the same theatre and, granted that they had not the indefinable advantage of owning the Saturday nights, the debates were distressingly orderly, prim, almost boring. The same was more so when the *Cumann Gaolach* met to debate in Irish, and be it noted that L. & H. members were also speakers in both those other societies. The mob, however, was on duty *qua* mob only on Saturday nights, though many individual members were to be seen wolfing cakes at the teas which societies often gave before a meeting. The Society now meets in the big Physics Theatre in Earlsfort Terrace. There is no mob now—the *mise en scène* is impracticable—and I have no doubt at all that the Society has deteriorated, both as a school for speakers and, more important, the occasion for an evening's enjoyment.

If my judgment is not faulty, the standard of speaking was very high on the average. There were dull speakers, some with hobby horses, politicians, speakers who were 'good' but boring, but there were brilliant speakers too. The most brilliant of all was J. C. Flood. He was an excellent and witty man, with a tongue which could on occasion scorch and wound. Long after he had become a professional man of the world, he found it impossible to disengage himself from the Society. Another fine speaker I remember was Michael Farrell and, God bless my soul, I amassed some medals myself.

The man I admired most was the late Tim O'Hanrahan, a most amusing personality and a first-class debater on any subject under the sun.

That the Society is really an extra-curricular function of

the university organism is shown by the great number of the members of my day (and, of course, of other days) who were to attain great distinction in legal and parliamentary work. The Irish gift of the gab is not so spontaneous an endowment as we are led to believe: it requires training and endowment, experience of confrontation with hostile listeners, and, yes—study.

Not only was the L. & H. invaluable to the students in such matters, but it could teach the visiting chairmen a thing or two. Determined chairmen who tried to control the mob found they were merely converting disorder into bedlam, while timid chairmen learnt the follies of conciliation, and the beauty of a mean between weakness and pugnacity.

I can attempt no statistical survey here, for it would be like what somebody called a net—a lot of holes tied together. But a few names were prominent enough to be securely lodged in my mind. The Auditor in office in 1929-30, when I entered the Society, was Robin Dudley Edwards. He was of striking appearance (still is, I hope) and enhanced his personality by appearing nowhere, never, winter or summer, without an umbrella, an implement even then completely out of fashion. To Edwards the umbrella as to Coffey the cab. He was a good speaker and a very good Auditor.

A big change began to come about in 1931-32, when Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh was elected. The last time I saw this ex-Auditor, he was seated on the bench of the Supreme Court. Apart from his College activities, he was in those days writing articles in all manner of outside publications, all contentious and reeking with politics—a sort of primitive Myles na Gopaleen. The country was on the brink of the Fianna Fáil age and Ó Dálaigh was backing that movement so strongly, in speeches and in print, that the election involved political alignments. He had a successful reign in the Society. I note from the printed programme of his year that of the eighteen debates—I exclude six impromptu debates—eight were on political themes.

The next Auditor was the editor of this book. He was elected the hard way. The cost of membership of the Society was one shilling, but I can think of no power or privilege membership

conferred other than the right to vote at the auditorial election. When the 1932-33 votes were counted, it was found that the new Auditor was Richard P. Dunne, a law student.

R. P. Dunne was a strange and interesting character, and an able speaker. Having made up his mind to be Auditor, he had himself elected treasurer of the Society in John Kent's year and gradually made members of many people he regarded as his friends, even if they had never attended a meeting of the Society in their lives. The result of the election flabbergasted many people. An Electoral Commission was set up and a committee of these appointed to make recommendations. One recommendation they made was that membership should not carry the vote until the member's second year, but the main thing is that the Commission upset the election of Dunne. On the re-election Meenan was declared Auditor.

The session 1932-33 was of some importance, for it was then I decided it was time for myself to become Auditor. My opponent was Vivion de Valera. The Fianna Fáil Party was by then firmly established, heaven on earth was at hand, and de Valera gained by this situation. I believed and said publicly that these politicians were unsuitable; so I lost the election.

As an Auditor, I would give de Valera, as in marking speeches, eight out of ten. The affairs of the L. & H. were cluttered with too many politicisms, objectionable not because politics should have no place in student deliberations, but simply because they bored. Perhaps I am biassed, for it was to be my later destiny to sit for many hours every day in Dáil Éireann, though not as an elected statesman, and the agonies entailed are still too fresh in my memory to be recalled without emotion.

The next Auditor was Richard N. Cooke who had in a previous year been auditor of the Commerce Society. Cooke was a good and forceful head man, lively and persuasive as a speaker. A superb domed cranium lent a sort of emphasis to his most trivial arguments. It was about this time, I think, that the Society's membership was rising rapidly, due to the missionary work of interested persons who saw themselves as contenders for the auditorship in the future.

In 1935-36 Desmond Bell was elected, and the year may be

said to mark the end of my own association with the College and the Society. In my irregular attendances at meetings, where into my speeches there was now creeping a paternal intonation, I found Bell an active and able Auditor though as a speaker, he was inclined to indulge in 'oratory'.

I am afraid this brief sketch gives little hint of the magic those years held, at least for me. Like any organisation of any size, there must be many officers who work hard and quietly in its many departments, and for little recognition or thanks. A lot of responsibility lay on the committees elected every year. The only programme of debates I have is for 1931-32, *consule* Ó Dálaigh, and shows included on the committee T. Lynch, B.A. (now County Solicitor for Clare), Donnchadh L. Ó Donnchadha (now a District Justice), Joe Kenny (now County Registrar for Waterford), and Una O'Dwyer, one of the few ladies who distinguished themselves in the Society. But I make no attempt to enumerate all the names that deserve honour for all the work they did in maintaining and fortifying the venerable Literary and Historical Society. As many of them were destined to do in the bigger world later, they influenced the life of the whole College in their day. Modestly they may say with Virgil: *Quae regio in Terrae nostri non plena laboris!*

III.—R. N. COOKE

WHEN AT SCHOOL, I had heard of the Literary and Historical Society in a rather vague way. The veteran Christian Brother who took charge of the last class in O'Connell Schools had indicated that it was an institution of some importance, but that unspecified occult influences saw to it that its Auditors were drawn from a select group from more expensive, but otherwise contemptible academies. I am afraid that neither my curiosity nor my ambition was aroused and I would have left the Society to pursue its course unaided or unimpeded by any efforts of mine were it not for the representations of my contemporaries and the intrigues of its officers.

The former, which were mostly recommendations that there

was 'great gas' there of a Saturday night, induced me to visit it once in the 1931-32 session, O'Daly's year. The night was fine and warm, being December; the brightly lit interior was a bank of faces seen through a haze of cigarette smoke (only G. S. Cox, Kevin Keary, both now gone, and P. J. Hogan, had pipes in those days) while the spacious landing was a pitch dark foyer punctuated with carefully smoked cigarettes: the world price of agricultural products was low and getting lower and the outsiders felt the draught. Inside, a young man, for all the world like the picture of temperance in the *Bab Ballads*, who was identified to me as the Auditor, was replying emphatically to the suggestion that Palgrave was not on the table. There were further questions of the type that required to know whether the correspondence secretary had communicated the Society's resolution on the treatment of his political opponents to *Il Duce*; an emphatic reply by the Auditor that the correspondence secretary could be relied upon to perform his duties; a further question as to whether an acknowledgment had been received; an emphatic 'No, Sir, the time which has elapsed is too short to expect one'; 'But surely, Sir, your correspondence secretary was not so ignorant as to write direct to the Quirinal when there is a properly accredited diplomatic representative of the King of Italy in Dublin?'

Obviously a crisis; the correspondence secretary leaps up to do battle but the Auditor has had a brainwave, and restrains his adjutant manually, while he replies: 'That resolution, Sir, was obviously directed to Signor Mussolini as head of the Fascist Party rather than as Prime Minister of Italy; upon my instructions it was accordingly directed to him personally and not through the recognised diplomatic channels'. The Auditor has won, the crisis is surmounted and applause rewards the effort but the feeling of the men at the door provoked the reply: 'And we all know what he'll do with that when he gets it personally'. My mind acknowledged the Auditor's adroitness but I felt that the anonymous antiphon enshrined the heart of the matter. Private business concluded shortly after and, with many more, I left.

The machinations to which I have referred came later. I was

approached to join the Society by a school acquaintance of mine who also was a member of the first Commerce class; it was intimated at the same time, by indirection, that no outlay or liability thereto was incurred, all that was required was my signature upon the roll of the Society. The battle was already joined for the auditorship. On the one hand was James Meenan, the embodiment of tradition, on the other Richard P. Dunne who, despite a striking resemblance to the earlier portraits of the late Kevin O'Higgins, was going forward as the plain man's candidate. Although the nation had just experienced its first change of government I do not recollect that either side campaigned on a political basis although there could be no doubt that the forces which believed in Cumann na nGaedheal (as the upholders of good government) would support the one and that the other could have the plain men. At all events Dick Dunne's caucus went about the business of getting support by the most down to earth methods in the plainest possible way. They were greatly helped by the fact that Dunne upon relinquishing the office of treasurer had handed over the all-important roll-book to another officer of the Society, now his principal supporter and Campaign Manager. I signed the roll in his presence and returned it to his custody. It was not considered necessary to tell me for whom to vote.

Eventually the list of members, hundreds strong, was placed upon the Society's notice board which then occupied the place of honour in the main hall. My name was not listed. The Manager referred me to Dunne. Dunne returned me to the Manager. Accosting the Manager for the second time, he made an abortive effort to refer me to Dunne again, and failing, informed me, after a furtive glance to right and left, that he and Dunne had consulted and had decided that it would be better if I did not vote.

I think my interest in the Society was aroused from that day. Dunne was returned by a thumping majority; his election was questioned; a Commission sat to inquire into the matter and he was ultimately deposed. I did not volunteer to give evidence, my name was not on the list and the prosecutors were therefore not 'on notice' of my share in the transaction. Dunne

conducted his own case, the prosecution being entrusted to Brian Ó Brolcháin, a lately qualified solicitor and a most stern upholder of the traditions of the Society.

James Meenan was eventually installed as Auditor and presided for what little remained of the year. I may have spoken once or twice during his term of office but I do not recollect doing so. I had however become infected with the atmosphere of the Society. I had become friendly with three other students who were to be my most constant companions until the outbreak of the war, and we went into business on our own.

Whatever our previous notions, it was quite apparent that skill in debate, or even the propounding of the most popular current principles was not enough. We had to organise. I was worse than useless in this respect but Mr. Desmond E. Bell, now S.C., Mr. Denis Patrick O'Donovan, now District Justice for the City of Cork and the then current Ó Brolcháin, now managing the local affairs of the county of Meath, were experts. Not for them the crude expedients of joining every available society, although such was not neglected. They discovered the untapped sources of voters in Loreto and Dominican Halls who, for the remainder of our time in College, supported us to a female. I do not know how it was done, and if any ambitious youth wishes to know he had better correspond with the above-named, not with me, but their testimonial is that although all of us were still under-graduates in the year 1933-34 Bell became President of the Students' Representative Council, Ruaidhri Ó Brolcháin, Reachtaire of An Cumann Gaolach, and I took on the Commerce Society. But we found also that one hundred per cent success was not possible. We ran Brian O'Nolan for the auditorship of the Society. His opponent was Vivion de Valera.

O'Nolan was undoubtedly the best humorous speaker of my time. I feel certain that he never prepared a speech or made the most exiguous note for a speech in his life but I have seen him, I think in de Valera's year, hold the house alternately convulsed with laughter and almost shamefaced with pathos for a full fifteen minutes. In an impromptu debate he was given the subject, after he had stood up to speak: *Sweet are the Uses*

of *Advertisement*. He said nothing for about half a minute while he felt in the outside pockets of his overcoat and then drew from the breast pocket a crumpled copy of the *Evening Herald*. Unrolling the paper slowly, he looked through it until he came upon the advertisement for Lux soap flakes and read the headline aloud: 'I wonder does he see that faded slip'. From that on he dealt with the ludicrous aspects of the advertisement with occasional references to the text while the house shook with laughter; but almost imperceptibly he changed the line and analysed the danger of such advertising with a thoughtful penetration of which few had believed him capable. There was a dead silence when he finished and then a real ovation. The meeting should have been ended then, the rest was anticlimax. On another occasion he finished a speech ridiculing the Blueshirt movement and in particular the ladies' squad in the College with an extempore parody of Colum's *Cradle Song* of which I can recollect now only the final stanza, which he delivered half turned to the faithful without the door:

*O, men from the fields,
Soft, softly come through.
Mavoureen is going
From me and from you.
O'Duffy puts round her
His mantle of blue.*

Poor stuff, if you will, and not an exact parody, but even Bell, than whom no one was bluer, cheered him for it.

Unfortunately his fame as a funny man was such that he was 'typed'. The Society expected it from him and he seldom disappointed it, but it meant that his real standing as a first-class serious speaker was never acknowledged and it gave the sun-bursters, of whom we had plenty, an opportunity of running him down as a potential Auditor of which they availed to the full during our campaign.

Vivion de Valera on the other hand was in those days the most serious-minded man in Ireland. It is only right to say that he was probably the most fair-minded also. That proved our

and O'Nolan's undoing. At the last meeting of the year, speaker after speaker poured out the most nauseating tripe adulatory of the national aspirations which Vivion was alleged, vicariously of course, to personify until it seemed that a vote for O'Nolan was a nail in the coffin of the Republic. O'Nolan was present. He spoke quietly and with restraint in reply to the egregious nonsense of his opponents, but some of his remarks were rather personal to the President's vicar in college and the four of us drank our Saturday night coffee in the Savoy in solid gloom.

De Valera was an exceptionally good Auditor. He played the game in strict accordance with the rules, his reputation for repartee was not such as to overawe the members and even the crasser of his opponents acknowledged his integrity. I think he always regarded Bell and me as the chief of these. Bell, because he was overtly a politician and a Blueshirt; I, as a member of the O.T.C., in those days regarded by 'true' Irishmen as a reactionary and undemocratic body, membership of which branded one with the mark of the Beast.

It was a good year. O'Nolan attended fairly regularly and, as I have said, made some of his best speeches then, but as far as I know he largely ceased to visit the Society at the end of that year. With him went his business manager and his technical adviser, or perhaps I should say, his 'effects man'. For those who know their *At Swim-Two-Birds* the latter will be identified with the supernatural or diabolic agency which extinguished the lights in moments of crisis; and those of us who witnessed his virtuosity will readily understand that the installation of an air conditioning plant in the harem of King Ibn Saud must have been child's play. However, Jack Nevin now holds the torrid Middle East in fee (or possibly in hire purchase) as the representative of a great American refrigerating company, and his native Limerick is a green blur momentarily seen from the plane when he flies back to Chicago for occasional consultations with the boss. P. J. Hogan, B.Comm., was the more vocal of the pair, but the exploits which have made him a legend in his lifetime are more properly part of the history of the Commerce Society, the Swimming Club and the Students' Representative Council, all of which bodies might do well to

remember them in these decadent days. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi*, but Agamemnon was a hard man too.

I am afraid that much of the colour of the Society went with them and de Valera's year ushered in the Antonine Age. There were many good speakers and the promise of many more. The lawyers were the dominant element. De Valera was a science graduate but was soon to become a law student. Andrew O'Keeffe (lately Attorney-General) had already mixed law with Celtic studies while Desmond Bell, Alfred O'Dwyer, Kevin Keary, Myles Gavagan, D. M. Walsh and Vincent Grogan—then our most notable first-year speaker—were law students or tending that way. There was a battery of Arts men, whom we lumped together as the *Pro Fide* group, from the name of a faith and fatherland society which they had formed. The more notable of them were Seamus Ó Conaill, now of the Department of Finance, Tomás Ó Muireadhaigh, not to be confused with 'S.F.X.', now a Deputy Secretary in Industry and Commerce, Caoimhín Ó Catháin, now an Inspector of Taxes, the late Louis Hughes, M.A., Dermot Hanly, Barrister-at-Law, Frank Culhane and Niall Brunicardi, now of G.2 or, if you like, the 2^{me} *Bureau* of the General Staff. All were worthy men and sound speakers but in these days a *Pro Fide* man was the equivalent of a 'proper Robert Emmet' in the eyes of the Emergency soldier. More unusual was the compact squad of Commerce students, the late Michael Henaghan, John A. Waters, James Troy, now an accountant and a member of the Hospitals Commission, Kevin O'Doherty, A.C.A., James P. O'Neill, who is now a surgeon, Denis P. O'Donovan and myself. But we eventually wound up in the Valhalla of the Society on Inns Quay. The outstanding phenomenon of the year was, however, the revival of the medicals. Many of those became prominent in my year and subsequently made their maiden speeches. Denis A. Collins, Maurice Walsh, Frank Murphy, Frank Monaghan and Joe Barnes were the most prominent, although I think Pierce Kent and the late Gerald Fitzgerald entered the Society about then also.

The war cut such ties as I had with the Society and I do not know how the lady speakers fare in these days, but in my

time a tradition existed that a lady speaker should not be heckled. It was not always observed, but discretion was usually the better part of valour and, when a member of the mob did so, the mobster's dilemma was that it was almost as embarrassing to disconcert the speaker so badly by a well-timed heckle that she could not continue as to be put in one's place by a proper riposte. At all events the ladies served the Society well. I have no recollection of outstanding lady speakers before de Valera's year but he and I were both fortunate. Opinions about them would differ but I would regard Máire Ely O'Carroll as the best of that time. Máire could speak with wit and distinction on practically any subject normally debated; I have never known her to be heckled and if, in her case, it wasn't tradition prevented it, it was the certainty that the heckler would get more than he gave. Peggy Gough, now combining a career as public relations officer with an active political life in the Labour Party and a domesticated existence as Mrs. Rushton, spoke far less than the Society would have liked, as did also Miss Betty Kettle, but neither of them quite equalled Miss Ruth Drumgoole in clarity of diction; for that matter, no one else, male or female, did either. Miss Drumgoole may not have commanded the ruder element in the audience as did Miss O'Carroll but what she had to say was worth listening to, and it was a pleasure to hear her say it. Miss Máire MacHale, now Mrs. O'Mahony, was probably our most businesslike lady speaker, making up by sheer personality what she lacked in inches and, being utterly fearless, was always accorded a hearing, for she too had the indefinable quality which indicated a capacity for devastating retort. But my favourite recollection of a lady speaker dealing with the mob centres round the tiny but indomitable figure of Annie Cox.

Her ordeal came upon a good-humoured but not too orderly night in 1933-34. There had been some heckling, mostly from the door but there was no indication, when she commenced to speak, she would be subjected to it. When she had spoken for a few minutes she started a sentence with the words 'During Ireland's Golden Age' when suddenly there was a vociferous cheer from the mob. She commenced again 'During Ireland's

Golden Age' and again the reference was applauded to the echo. She stopped. The mob stopped. She commenced again and the mob cheered at the same point and stopped as if daring her to go on. She re-started the sentence. Normally the House would have called for order or the Auditor would have intervened, but in some peculiar way this had resolved itself into a straight fight between about fifty good-humoured mobsters and this diminutive Annie Cox. She seemed to realize it too. She had been turned towards the main body of the House from her place near the Auditor's table. She now turned towards the door, and repeated the opening words of the sentence again. I think she repeated the opening six times in all, then the mob gave way and repaid her gallantry by calling for three cheers for her at the end of the speech.

De Valera's year wore on, and the four of us had to decide who would get what in the coming year. Initially we decided that I would run for the Presidency of the S.R.C., O'Donovan would become Auditor of the Commerce Society whilst Ruaidhri Ó Brolcháin would take over the Literary and Historical Society, to be succeeded therein by Bell. If there was anything else in which anybody else had an interest, support would be accorded in return for the obvious *quid pro quo*. Work commenced early as each of us had a final examination to face in September 1934. Ruaidhri was the second last of a family of brothers, all of whom had been prominent members of the Society and we considered it only right and just that one of such a line should achieve its highest dignity.

We ran into trouble right away. Our organization had devoted a too exclusive attention to the ladies from the Loreto and Dominican Halls and we found that too few of them had qualified to vote. My indifference in that regard made me somewhat less objectionable to the other lady members, and we found too that my candidature for the Presidency of the S.R.C. would not be favoured by the sporting vote therein. I had at one time volunteered my services to the Hurling Club but my urban background and accent earned me the cold shoulder there, so I achieved the status of a veritable renegade by playing for an outside club. I was blackened even more by the fact that while playing against

the College I, accidentally of course, laid out a real hurler.

Bell was so clearly identified with the Cumann na nGaedheal Party that any election in which he was a candidate would be fought on party lines, since the supporters of the Government would not take the risk of having an institution so vocal and so important as the L. & H. 'in the wrong hands'. There were backstairs conversations between Bell and de Valera and agreement was reached. I was agreed upon as unobjectionable, 'being incapable of intrigue'. I may say that the last piece of information was only obtained by me years later, when de Valera and I were staff officers at Army Headquarters.

We reshuffled the pack and dealt again. I was to run for the auditorship of the Society, O'Donovan was posted to the Presidency of the Students' Representative Council while Bell retained the reversion on the auditorship. The roll of qualified voters was relatively small and so was my majority. I think I polled 33 votes against Chippy O'Dwyer's total of 22, and I assumed the auditorship for the year 1934-35. Somebody else, however, must write about that.

My year of office over, Desmond Bell defeated Seamus Ó Conaill for the auditorship and I departed, in obedience to tradition, to return by invitation only. I had become the most junior of the elder statesmen of the Society, duly qualified by experience to advise upon request and to pinch hit when a visiting chairman failed to turn up on the appointed night.

As I have said, the exigencies of the Service from 1939 to 1945 effectively terminated my association with the Society so that I cannot say whether the ex-Auditors are still the *praesidium et dulce decus* of the Auditor, but twenty years ago they were his first line reserve. They had an acknowledged hierarchy based on seniority and, as a reserve, admitted upon an almost equal footing great men of the past to whom the fortunes of the polls had denied the principal honour. The senior amongst them were eligible for invitation as visiting chairman. Those next in dignity might be invited with due formality to preside at impromptu debates. The most junior were eligible as last minute substitutes.

I will mention only one of them. Tim O'Hanrahan's early

death left me with a sense of personal loss which I have otherwise seldom experienced. His status permitted him to visit the Society at will and when he did, usually when some other elder statesman took the chair, he would carefully explain to the House that he attended only to hear the speeches of the first-year speakers and the chairman's summing up. An Auditor who knew his business invariably would ask him to propose or second the customary vote of thanks. If he did not know it, Tim would beg to allow himself to be associated with it, and the boldest chairman quaked. Heaven alone knew what innocent idiosyncrasy would be exploited to the full or what modest ambition be inflated into the most ludicrous presumption. Once, when I presided, the visiting chairman, noticing his entry towards the end of the meeting, asked me in a whispered aside, what that so-and-so was up to. I took the hint, but Tim was not to be denied and gave a certain gallant gentleman, who in Tim's eyes had had the misfortune to serve the Republic in arms when it was really dangerous, a most embarrassing five minutes of doubtful eulogy; and then while the members filed away came over to us as I helped the chairman into his overcoat, to be met with the greeting, ground out through clenched teeth, 'You —'. But they went off, arm in arm together so to speak, along the Green. That was Tim, no one could be angry with him for more than a moment.

Perhaps it is as well that the Society has left 86. Even for those of us who have just turned forty that side of the Green has too many ghosts.

IV.—PATRICK PURCELL

INCREDIBLE THOUGH IT MAY SEEM, I had attended the capers then known to me as Ellenaitch half-a-dozen times before I finally discovered what those Saturday night jamborees at the top of 86 were in aid of.

Although, even for a provincial, I may have been a particularly raw recruit when I found myself outside the door of the Old Physics Theatre for the first time on a Saturday night in



T. M. KETTLE

Auditor, 1898-99

October 1933, yet I had had some slight experience of debating societies in the diocesan college which had guided me thus far up the slopes of Parnassus. On initial acquaintance, however, I found this Ellenaitch business absolutely and utterly unique, a cross between an old-fashioned hooley and a revivalist meeting.

I well remember how, on my first Saturday night of all, two or three other first-year students and myself made our way up a creaking and time-worn staircase, while around us the plaster was peeling from walls that might last have been painted by Cardinal Newman himself.

Nor, if I had known at the time that such a gentleman ever existed, would I have been at all surprised had Mr. Buck Whaley in person stepped out from the shadows to shake me by the hand.

The gas jets that, when left to their own devices (which was rarely enough), lit the square hallway at the top of the stairs, hissed and spluttered unheard and unseen by the happy crowd jam-packed round a doorway which led to some further, inaccessible, sanctum.

At intervals that hot and swaying mob laughed loudly for reasons not at all clear to their brethren of the hallway, though we promptly tacked on raucous echoes. At further intervals the crowd sang, led by a large man who had been some years my senior in the venerable abode of piety and learning I had so lately left. Encouraged, as I subsequently discovered, by the presence under his belt of numerous bottles of brown stout, he repeatedly led the chorus of 'Ma, look at Charlie!' with considerable enthusiasm, devoting particular emphasis and zest to the immortal last line, 'Whoops, he's at it again!'

A somewhat older student, Jack Nevin by name, who was at that time closely associated with the birth of the annual Charity Rag, next arrived on the scene and harangued us briefly there in the hall. We cheered him. Whereupon counter-cheers came from those remote fastnesses beyond the doorway.

In the distance I could hear the name of de Valera mentioned from time to time, followed once by a reference to blue shirts. There were repeated calls of 'Gangway for a Naval Officer',

until eventually, led by Jack Nevin and a mouth-organist, most of us marched away on some business or other directly or indirectly concerned with the Rag.

I went home that night highly delighted with the entertainment which Ellenaitch had provided, but still more than a little puzzled. Due to the presence of comrade Nevin, I could not help feeling that this happy hour or so of gas-lit hooliganism was in some way connected with the Rag. On the other hand I was unable even to speculate as to what exactly had been going on in that inner room.

The continuous demands for some mysterious character known as 'Mr. Auditor' I had been utterly unable to understand. The references to de Valera and the mention of blue shirts seemed to imply that the proceedings had some political significance. But, on the other hand, the keynotes of the whole affair had been jollity, laughter, good fun and good humour, all qualities that were notably absent from the Irish political scene in the autumn of 1933.

Most of all was I intrigued by the presence of a Naval Officer in such peculiar surroundings. And why was it considered necessary to provide him with so many gangways?

Within a week or two the Rag was over and done with, but, as Ellenaitch still continued to flourish, I now deduced that it was in no way connected with those groups of young gentlemen who, accompanied by some female camp-followers, had been sent forth into the streets by Mr. Jack Nevin to sell *Roosters*, to jingle, in aid of Dublin's poor, collection-boxes in places, such as the upper floors of Alexandra College, where male-borne collection-boxes can but rarely have jingled since; to escort (in varied costumes and to the monotonous chant of 'Yirrawaddy! Yirrawaddy!') some few horse-drawn floats laden with the simpering newly-conferred through the Saturday noon-day traffic of O'Connell Street; to assemble in a great semi-circle across College Green in the darkness of the night, there to render *A Soldier's Song* for the edification of Trinity College, its Royal Foundress and all who might dwell therein, before proceeding northward to sack the dance-halls of Parnell Square. . . .

Eventually I did succeed in working my way through that crowded doorway and discovered for myself exactly what maudlin mysteries were enacted each Saturday night in the room beyond.

The patrons of this inner chamber were scarcely less tight-packed than the Keepers of the Portals had been, nor, despite the crumbling magnificence of the fire-place, was the standard of decoration in any way superior to that of the immediate approaches. But, on this closer inspection, it was at once evident that there was some kind of organisation, however haphazard, behind the seeming chaos. So far from being a spontaneous hooley, the proceedings had a beginning, an end and, it seemed, a long and honourable tradition.

It was, I think, on that night, too, I was first informed by a fellow-neophyte that Ellenaitch stood for Literary and Historical Society and that, by consulting a certain notice-board in the Main Hall, it was possible to discover the character of the forthcoming Saturday night's entertainment several days in advance. Until then I had been under the erroneous impression, formed from a brief study of such documents as were publicly displayed nearest to the main door, that all proclamations on College notice-boards had been affixed thereto at the opening of the building and were fated to remain in their already time-honoured positions to edify posterity until Gabriel's trumpet blew.

Soon, with the aid of that notice-board, many of my crooked paths were made straight. 'Mr. Auditor' was, I now discovered, the head of the Society, and those frequent references to de Valera were caused by the presence in the auditorial chair at that particular period of Mr. Vivion de Valera, an efficient, conscientious and broad-minded graduate.

Nor was I very long left in ignorance of the Naval Officer's identity, for he soon stood revealed as a certain Richard Cooke whose initials were R.N. and for whom the Gentlemen at the Door loudly demanded that gangway everytime he sought to pass in or out. What did not, however, become clear to me for some months to come was that country *cawbogues*, such as myself, were entitled to do anything more in this obviously

select assembly than stand and stare, push in the crush, sing when the spirit moved us, groan and howl when groans and howls seemed to be in order, and guffaw, when the occasion demanded, at the salty witticisms of the elect.

The main body of the Society was then, as it usually is, almost entirely staffed and recruited from Dublin and from the schools in the immediate vicinity of the capital. The idea that hurley-playing rustics, like my few friends and myself, had any place there, beyond providing a receptive audience for the oratory and the arguments of our betters, did not occur to us for some considerable time.

Indeed the hurlers and Gaelic footballers, with whom I was then in the process of becoming acquainted out at the athletic grounds in Terenure, were not at all interested in the L. & H., except for an occasional incursion in defence of the honour and objects of the then recently outlawed I.R.A. Almost the sole exception to that general rule was the red-head Bill Loughnane, who had played the mouth-organ out on the landing that night of my first visit, and whose cheery wit was already often to be heard in caustic comment from the depths of the crowd around the door.

I still remember how astounded I was when, towards the end of my first year, I came in from Terenure to a last-term meeting of the Society, carrying a hurley, and was accosted somewhere within the precincts of 86 by the aforementioned R. N. Cooke, who asked me what kind of hurling team College would be able to field in the forthcoming Dublin championship. In subsequent conversation I was amazed to discover that not alone was he a member of the Croke's hurling club, but had played for Dublin in the minor hurling championship a year or two before. To Dick Cooke I must award the unique honour of being the first G.A.A. man I ever saw in a dress-suit. That chance encounter had far-reaching consequences, *ach scéal eile an scéal sin agus lá eile 'gam d' innsint.*

But I have digressed too much. . . . By the end of my first term I had become an incurable devotee of the L & H., gradually progressing towards the forefront of the 'mob', but having no wish whatever to join the chosen ones who

distributed themselves over the meagre, if varied, seating accommodation.

Yet of the rest of that first year in which I became acquainted with Ellen, I have, surprisingly, few memories. But it is still easy to recall the good humour and seeming urbanity with which Jack Nevin could bait all chairmen, whether they were 'foreign' or 'domestic'; easier to visualise than to record the mordant flashes of Brian O'Nolan's wit.

Des Bell, as he was when first I saw and heard him, with those luminous eyes lighting his thin face and bringing a remarkable sincerity to every cause he espoused, impressed me tremendously more than once. And was it that year, or the following October that all the Gentlemen at the Door hailed with delight the first trumpet that heralded the arrival of the O'Tooles—the irrepressible Margaret and her no less eloquent brother, James Davitt Bermingham, from far Shanghai.

I had, of course, realised by this time that, while Auditors lasted a year, and committees were both removable and expendable, visiting chairmen, like Duffy's Circus, were ours for one night only. Of those Saturday night birds of passage I have never forgotten two whom I saw in my first year, for both continued to serve the Society in that most thankless of capacities session after session.

Through several years I was more than a little awed by the mask of stony-hearted indifference to all human foibles which Mr. J. C. Flood donned when he came down to dissect our best oratorical efforts with the cold steel of a barbed wit that could be sharp as a surgeon's knife. But having, in later days, seen him outfaced on two successive occasions by slightly befuddled but obviously fearless members of the Society's proletariat, I was forced to the conclusion that, like the rest of mankind, he was not invincible, and I always had a soft spot for him on his subsequent appearances until he departed from us to robe and cloister.

Tim O'Hanrahan was then the most genial, jovial and understanding chairman of them all, as well as being the wittiest and the shrewdest judge of human nature. His early death was a sad blow not alone to his multitude of friends, but to

Ireland. I am convinced that, if there be debating societies in any side-aisles of heaven, Tim O'Hanrahan must be in perpetual demand as chairman.

So the first year of my association with the Literary and Historical Society hastened to a close, though, never having spoken in public debate, and not feeling that the expenditure of a shilling on membership would be justified if there was no vote *pro* 'bob', I took no part in the election which brought my acquaintance, R. N. Cooke, into the auditorial chair for the session 1934-5. In my second year I progressed to one of the steps inside the door, where such irrepressible gentlemen as Hugh ('Scottie') MacBryan, Frank Monaghan, Mer Clarke and Bill Loughnane were then getting together the nucleus of a semi-organised 'mob' of hecklers, which was not alone consistently 'agin' the Auditor and committee, but was equally bitterly opposed to all members of the Society who spoke from the allegedly 'respectable' seats, chairs and benches.

In the art of heckling, Jack Nevin was our inspiration still, while we were frequently supported by portly Maurice Walsh, though Maurice might be found just as often on the other side of the room among the more serious-minded members. Indeed, with that deep voice to drown any opposition, with his impressive delivery, his keen sense of humour and quick grasp of any subject, I think Maurice was possibly the best speaker I ever heard in my L. & H. years.

Before the session was out, Hugh MacBryan had banded the 'mob' into a loose confederation to which he was wont to refer as the G.A.T.D.F.W.T.S.H.N.T.P.S., an allegedly brief way of designating the Gentlemen At The Door For Whom The Society Has Neglected To Provide Seats.

The Gentlemen At The Door provided rather more of a problem for Dick Cooke than they had for his predecessor, Vivion de Valera. Though 'Gangway for a Naval Officer' was now to all intents and purposes the Society's password, both public debate and private business were, I think, far less good-humoured than in de Valera's year. Not even a magnificently satirical oration from Brian O'Nolan, in which he robed in ridicule the whole political set-up, could restrain

the rising tides of party bitterness, which were bound to flood occasionally on to the floor of the House in days when I well remember seeing two young ladies reduce one another to the point of proud and mutual tears in a very determined, and politically inspired, bout of hair-pulling in the very centre of the Main Hall.

In 1935 Desmond Bell succeeded to the auditorial chair and for the first time I found myself in office, as record secretary, a position I subsequently held under the next two Auditors. Fortunately my terms on the committee were always brief, since, in the first place, the circle of friends from whom I could borrow the stipulated Saturday night dress-suit was very limited and, in the second place, I was never happy in exile from my friends in the doorway.

The big event of Des Bell's year was the dinner which the Society held to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of U.C.D. But, though I have the list of guests before me as I write, it fails to conjure up any flash of memory worth the recording, although I do recollect very clearly a phrase from Mr. Bell's inaugural address delivered some time previously—'Metaphysics taught by machine-guns'.

But if the pomp of those days has little place in my memory I can very clearly recall the circumstances of the ordinary meetings, for now the sharpness was dying down, and the good humour was coming back.

Scottie MacBryan was now Lord of the Doorway, a man of infinite resource in the tormenting of Auditors, the dismissal of committees and the posing of impossible problems for visiting chairmen. He could rally to his aid many scientific by-products and on one occasion the lights were doused while he showed us a film that purported to be the life-story of the then not so well-known rodent, Mr. Michael Mouse. On another gala night he produced a radio transmitting set and broadcast messages from the Auditor and other prominent people to some impossible place or other, perhaps it was Hong Kong.

It was in Des Bell's year that the O'Tooles really blossomed into full eloquence, although they had worthy rivals in Frank Culhane, Maurice Walsh, Frank Murphy, and the humorous

Niall Brunicardi. Around this time, too, the grip of the Law students on the Society was also being challenged by such as Risteárd Breathnach, Ruaidhri Ó h-Aodha, Tomás Ó Siaghail and Tomás de Bhaldraithe, all of whom were also well-known to the *Cumann Gaolach*, and by the leading lights of the Agricultural Faculty, Mick Vaughan and Dan O'Brien.

Lady speakers were well to the fore in the L. & H. at this period, the Misses Blánaid Dillon, Maura Ely O'Carroll, the MacHale sisters, Minnie Bell, Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and Annie Cox in particular proving well-worth listening to and fearless of any caustic comment from the Gentlemen At The Door.

Vincent Grogan succeeded Des Bell as pilot, and there followed the most vocal year that the Society experienced in my time. The Spanish Civil War had started a whole new series of disputations, in College as well as outside, and Grogan's term of office was featured by some glorious nights of heated and sustained argument that packed the Old Physics Theatre far beyond its doors, as the rights and wrongs of the bombing of Guernica, the Irish Christian Front, the Basque problem, the Redness of the Republicans and the Fascism of the Nationalists were argued with white-hot fervour and seemingly unflagging enthusiasm.

A few students or former students were in the ranks of the International Brigade. One of them, the poet Charlie Donnelly, was killed in the fighting before Madrid where Frank Ryan was also wounded. When Ryan returned home to convalesce he was announced as chairman for a meeting of a College society, and the meeting was promptly banned by the College authorities.

As always, the floor of the L. & H. was the principal sounding-board of student opinion, and, since Frank Ryan was personally very well liked, we had some tremendous oratory when the Society got down to discussing the College ban on his chairmanship, even though the chair in question had been that of *Cumann Liteardha na Gaelige*, of which Frank was a former Auditor.

But Vincent Grogan, who managed to combine a keen sense of humour with a deal of astuteness, steered the Society through

all kinds of troubled waters with remarkable success, while, even at the moments of greatest stress and strain, Hughie MacBryan was always on hand to supply the often necessary light relief. It was, I think, in a particularly thundery atmosphere that he saved the night by delivering the most remarkable oration ever presented to the Literary and Historical Society, for he 'spoke' first in sign language and then, with the aid of a torch, in the Morse code.

New orators were finding their tongues effectively in those days, Tom and Michael O'Higgins, Paddy Meenan, Seán Kenny, John Eugene McCarthy, Paddy Lynch, Seán Collins, Don MacDonagh and Michael McEgan, to mention only those who spring first to mind. But still, from around the door, Loughnane, Clarke and Monaghan, reinforced betimes by the pleasantries of George Mason or Kevin O'Doherty, or the *basso profundo* of Rory Roberts, made every speaker work hard for a hearing.

At the end of Grogan's term Risteárd Breathnach, a former Auditor of the *Cumann Gaolach* and, strangely enough, a member of the hurling club, succeeded him in the auditorial chair. The new Auditor was a fellow countyman of my own and resident in the same digs in Rathmines, but I was not for long able to enjoy to the full the Society under his leadership, for my own student days were ending, though I continued to haunt the scenes of former gladness whenever possible for some considerable time afterwards.

In any case the halcyon days, as I had known them, were rapidly drawing to a close. The Society was exiled, first temporarily and then permanently, from the Old Physics Theatre in 86. First move was to the ground-floor dance-hall: then the Bishop's Room provided the next refuge. The reconstruction of what is now known as Newman House had begun and, in the process, the old, rowdy, colourful L. & H. we had known was reconstructed out of existence.

On the rare occasions when the Society invites me back now to the space and airiness of Earlsfort Terrace, I am always ready to grant that the setting and the tone are more worthy of a Society which has outlived two Universities and may well outlast a third.

But though circumstances are now much more favourable both for speaker and heckler, I have not found that the standard, either of debate or of interruption, is anything if at all higher than it was in the most chaotic moments of the old 86 régime.

And may I be pardoned if I sometimes yearn for just one more crushed and swaying hour up there in the Old Physics Theatre, with poor Tim O'Hanrahan back in the chair, with Brian O'Nolan or Maurice Walsh or Jimmy O'Toole holding the floor, with the howl of the MacBryan-inspired mob making the Saturday night hideous? And, when all else is over, Jimmy Flynn, God rest him, back to hold the last stragglers with just one parting anecdote, before, under the crumbling Whaley lion, we bid farewell for ever to the Good Old Days.

V.—PATRICK LYNCH

LIKE MANY ANOTHER INSTITUTION, the Literary and Historical Society seems never to have been as good as it used to be. At the end of 1936, when I became a member, it was self-consciously living on an earlier reputation. Criticism of the Society from any first-year member at that time was usually silenced by tales of the days of Dudley Edwards, J. C. Flood, Louis Roche and Brian O'Nolan; and the critic's suspended judgment could be indefinitely deferred when a visiting chairman recalled still earlier glories of Joyce, Skeffington and William Magennis. The myth may have owed more to folklore than to fact; but ardent worshippers of the Society's traditions were never intimidated by undue respect for fact. The pantheon was sacrosanct, whatever doubts the faithful might have about the identity of the idols within. As a rule the iconoclasts succumbed in the end to the spell. If the Society was sometimes a bear-garden, it was always more than an ordinary debating society.

The myth served many purposes: it was a useful excuse for present short-comings, and it eased the conscience of the newcomer as he yielded to the Society's fascinations. Many who came to mock stayed to worship. The newcomer might

never enrich the Society's glorious tradition; but, in due course, he might make a name as a popular speaker or as a licenced interrupter; indeed he might already detect a distant prospect of himself flanked by a brilliant inaugural platform, facing fond parents, admiring friends, envious fellow students and dutiful ex-members. In any event, he would surely feel on leaving College that the Literary and Historical Society would never be the same again.

My first impression of the Society still remains vivid; it was the impact of the contrasting styles and intimidating facility of three speakers: the vigour and intensity of Tom O'Higgins, now Minister for Health, the cascading fluency of James D. B. O'Toole, and Kevin O'Doherty impassively giving expression to an interior monologue. But the Society generally was rarely at its best between 1936 and 1941. It was still a forum for political debate but its moods varied between wearied apathy and contrived indignation. Communism and pacifism, which relieved the depressive effects of the late 1930's in university societies elsewhere, aroused no sustained support or even interest. Our moral indignation was reserved exclusively for domestic issues, particularly extinct ones. We were often busy flogging dead horses. In reality the turbulence of party controversy had subsided by 1936 but we made clamant if half-hearted efforts to revive it. We were still fighting battles that had been won or lost in the conflict between Fianna Fáil and Cumann na nGaedheal in the years immediately before and after 1932. Too many debates were the backwash of the previous decade, and too many speeches the outflow of half-remembered editorials in the *Irish Independent* and *Irish Press*. The Civil War evoked frenzied speeches in the Society long after the rest of the country had begun to forget about it. After its flaming youth the Society had entered a heady and somewhat introverted middle-age.

Fianna Fáil supporters were still a minority in the Society but their self-assurance reflected the recognition of their political opponents that Mr. de Valera's day had decisively arrived. Fine Gael was firmly out of office and might, it seemed, never return. The party that had established the state was

losing its influence with the electorate. In the Society it still had great prestige; the enthusiastic optimism of its adherents was fortified by a loyalty often based on blind faith, romantic attachment to a seemingly lost cause, or family ties. Not unnaturally, its claims were often defended with an irrelevant vehemence remote from the mood of the rest of our generation. One speaker however, Liam Cosgrave, now Minister for External Affairs, was particularly noted for his restraint and moderation. Fine Gael supporters generally upheld the Treaty as the title deed of national independence. They looked back with pride on the achievements of their party; as yet there was no intimation of how it would in due course come to terms with the altered mood of the electorate and return to office.

Both parties had forceful spokesmen in the Society; their influence was considerable if not always beneficial. A few of them had relatively broad interests, but the others spoke mainly on matters of party controversy and, as their views were predictable, they tended to impose a stereotyped pattern of ideas on debates. There was a legend that the Society had been a cradle of political orators but their debt to it was often less than their debt to the political platforms whose style and content they imitated. Seán Collins and Frank Roe, who had little to learn from the Society, contributed a great deal to it. There were, of course, prominent exceptions to the rule: James Mansfield, for instance, whose style owed nothing to the political platform, became a well-known exponent of the serious, carefully prepared speech that characterized the Commerce Society at that time.

The Society had a number of other speakers of distinction and individuality whose range of ideas and independence were not abridged by party lines. Maurice Walsh, George Mason, Ruadhri Ó h-Aodha, Seán D. Connolly and Ruadhri Roberts were particularly persuasive, versatile and resourceful, always at their best in impromptu debates. All five enjoyed public speaking and had eager audiences: with something fresh to say they invariably said it well. None of them was haunted by hobgoblins of consistency and they were all formidable opponents of monotony and pomposity. These, I think, were

the most provocative speakers on general topics in my time and their accomplishment sometimes elicited the flattering criticism that their speeches were wayward, histrionic or irresponsible. Paddy Nolan, Johnny O'Donoghue and Nessa Brugha made an impression as persistent exponents of extreme republicanism; as adversaries of prevailing political order and attitudes they did at least impart something fresh and challenging into the proceedings. They aroused so successfully and entertainingly the wrath of the staid conservatives that, despite constant repetition, their theme managed to avoid monotony.

The Society in those days often reminded one of the Chinaman whom the late C. E. M. Joad is said to have brought to a symphony concert, and who, thinking the performance had ended after the orchestra had tuned up, thanked his host for a memorable and rewarding evening. The preliminaries of the meeting—private business—were the really popular features of the programme and many departed as soon as the public debate began. Indeed if the subject of debate tended towards the abstract—which it seldom did—only the speakers, their admirers and a few faithful friends remained. There were many exceptions of course. Chairmen such as the late Professor Magennis or J. C. Flood could hold a big audience long after midnight, but rarely did the subject of public debate itself have such compelling attractions.

My early days in the Society constituted the last period in which meetings were held in the dilapidated Old Physics Theatre in 86 St. Stephen's Green. The enthusiasm of an earlier generation had broken most of the furniture and removed the doors from their hinges; and the enterprise of a later one had inscribed on the wall immediately behind the auditorial chair, in huge indelible tar lettering, the legend: UP THE REDS. Here, in a smoke filled, ill-lit room with trembling disintegrating floors, the closely packed crowd waited for the Auditor. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and followed by routine objections. Question Time ranged from votes of censure on the committee to the singing of *The Rose of Mooncoin* by Paddy Purcell. Sometimes the lights were lowered to allow Hugh MacBryan to give a film show or were raised to enable

Cloxi, later Dr. Frank Monaghan, to demonstrate his latest invention—a watch with homemade Westminster chimes or a cigarette holder designed for smokeless smoking.

On one of my first visits Frank Culhane—now a priest in the Holy Ghost Order—delivered in Shakespearean style a panegyric on the death of a friend, which according to the minutes was ‘greeted by cheers’. Niall Brunicardi was an accomplished impersonator of the style adopted by the late Dr. Coffey when summing up an inaugural meeting, or of Professor McGilligan and the late Canon O’Keeffe in conversation outside the Law room, or of the late Professor Magennis discovering that he had lectured an hour beyond his allotted time. During 1936 and 1937 private business often pushed public debate into the background.

At the first meeting of 1936 with Dr. Flood as chairman, the Society debated the motion: *That an insurgent Victory would be the Salvation of Spain*. Tom Hughes, who opposed the motion, was awarded highest marks but as no vote was taken the mood of the house was not fully apparent until the subject was raised in private business later in the year. In February 1937 Tom O’Higgins, assisted by Risteárd Breathnach and Niall Brunicardi proposed the censure of the *National Student* of which Tom Hughes was Director, for its attitude to the Spanish War. It was, perhaps, Tom O’Higgins’s most celebrated performance in the Society. In a heated and often hysterical debate a ceremonial burning of the *National Student* was advocated for its publication of an article by a Basque priest, Father Ramon Laborda who had come to Dublin to expose Spanish Fascism. In reply, Hughes defended the publication with passion and persuasion, supported by Blánaid Dillon, one of the most intelligent women students in the Society, and Donal Carr. Early in this turbulent debate the ‘men at the door’ seemed ready to gather faggots in support of Tom O’Higgins but when passions abated they dispersed, and only a small house remained for the vote which was carried by fourteen votes to ten. When the count had been taken Paddy Purcell, who had spoken for and against the motion, proposed, with cynicism characteristic of the Society, that ‘news of a glorious victory be sent to the Pope’.

During private business there was an annual debate on Irish partition, designed to be reported in the minutes which English visitors would hear at the inter-university debate. This discussion on partition was generally a carnival of rhetoric about Ireland's wrongs and England's oppressions. It was essential, of course, that the motion should be passed unanimously; a division of opinion might suggest that we were not all of one mind about the desirability of ending partition. On the 4th of February, 1939, for instance, Tomás P. Ó Siaghail was 'standing firm for a United Ireland' and Paddy Purcell was describing the tyranny in the north of Ireland as greater than anything under the Nazis or Fascists. (A week before he had been seconding a motion congratulating General Franco on his victory at Barcelona). A year earlier the same speakers had also asserted Ireland's right to unity, to impress visitors to the 1938 inter-debate. If the visitors had come often enough, it would have been hard to explain to them why such industry and persistence were necessary to convince members of an Irish society of the desirability of reuniting their country. Although the speeches were addressed, of course, to an audience already converted to anti-partition there was sometimes comical difficulty in securing the adoption of the motion with the unanimity required to make it acceptable propaganda. Recoiling in exasperation from the factitiousness of the enterprise some of the more perverse or independent-minded members often opposed, and found themselves denounced as traitors and saboteurs.

Seán Kenny, Desmond Williams, and later Tommy Woods, made brave efforts from time to time to raise the standard of debate. But many other students of outstanding ability did not as a rule frequent the Society. I do not remember ever seeing Fergus Fitzgerald, Darina Laracy or Máire MacEntee there, although they were prominent in other societies at which they were becoming outstanding speakers.

Some of us had the illusion that if only we could defy the aggressive apathy or the tumult we would then be equipped to speak anywhere. But we were quickly undeceived; the illusion was shattered as soon as we tried to speak at more

conventional societies where the test of success was the quality of the speech—not the dexterity necessary to secure a hearing. At the L. & H. a crowded house was sometimes favoured with a long speech for which the conscientious speaker himself constituted the only attentive element of the audience. Private business had its clowns, wits, humorists, variety artists, conjurors and anecdotists but there were also members who made more orthodox contributions. Women students always constituted half the audience but only Blánaid Dillon, Margaret O'Toole, Nessa Brugha, Fionnuala O'Driscoll, Fionnuala McCann and Marie Brennan spoke frequently. Michael Vaughan, Frank Murphy, Leo Gibson, Irial Gogan, Eamon Kennedy, James D. B. O'Toole, Frank Roe, Kevin Nowlan and Oliver Mac Donagh performed with self-assurance and composure in both private business and public debate.

There were other good speakers as well; but one has more vivid if somewhat miasmic recollections of indefatigable speakers devoid alike of ideas and style, who, intent on medal winning, could often hope to achieve more than they really deserved, certainly more than some good speakers did. Medals were awarded on the average of one's four highest marks during the year and an able speaker could therefore succeed with the minimum number of speeches. But, as some chairmen were disposed more to be generous than to be critical, a merely competent speaker might hope to earn a reputation for oratory to which his medal alone testified.

While the proceedings were sometimes a succession of interjections, there were not many interrupters of the talent of Martin Sheridan and Paddy Purcell. Purcell had won wide popularity, especially among the obstreperous 'men at the door' whose favours he had cultivated and in whose esteem no member of the Society stood higher. But the 'mob', as we knew it, ceased to exist when the Society moved from 86; henceforward what remained was dispersed over the Physics Theatre in Earlsfort Terrace; it no longer had an accepted spokesman. There were still interrupters, however, to assail pomposity, particularly Martin Sheridan, Caoimhín Ó Nualláin, and Desmond Williams who often engaged in operations combining



Edinburgh Debate, 1907.

WILLIAM DAWSON
THOMAS BODKIN

MICHAEL MCGILLIGAN
LOUIS CASSIDY

perversity with pleasantry. Williams displayed remarkable versatility in his interests and techniques. He perplexed Auditors by wearing his hat at meetings on the plea that the practice had existed in the British House of Commons. This exploit led to his suspension, a fate which his associates John McGartoll, Michael Clarke and Paddy Mackenzie often shared for similarly quixotic misdemeanours.

The Auditors of my time were Vincent Grogan, Risteárd Breathnach, Tom O'Higgins, Tomás P. Ó Siaghail and Paddy Meenan. Each found and left the Society in a healthy condition, although fortunes varied when meetings were held in an unsuitable room to which the Society had been slow to adapt itself. Grogan and Meenan were particularly conscientious and effective administrators who took care to ensure that the caprice of the House did not destroy continuity in their committees. At a committee meeting on the 26th October, 1940, Meenan arranged for the collection of past minute books and records of the Society for deposit in the College library with a view to the preparation of a history of the Society; and Breathnach and O'Higgins consciously aimed at encouraging new speakers. As Auditors they asserted themselves by persuasion rather than dictation and maintained order without displaying authoritarian or intimidating attitudes. Ó Siaghail had the unusual auditorial experience of being the subject of a vote of censure proposed by Ruadhri Ó h-Aodha calling him to resign the auditorship. The motion, however, was overwhelmingly defeated after the Auditor had routed his opponents (who included the present writer) with the ablest speech they ever heard him make. Ó Siaghail then went on to prepare for a much heralded inaugural address on the 19th of January, 1940—*Some Social Tendencies in modern Europe*. The late President Coffey described this inaugural as the best in twenty-five years. There were only three speakers to the paper—His Lordship the Most Reverend Dr. Browne, Bishop of Galway, Senator Frank MacDermot and Mr. Justice Creed Meredith. The usual fourth speaker was missing owing to the difficulty, the Auditor later explained, of finding one 'of the right standard'.

On the 13th April, 1940, the Literary and Historical Society recorded its regret at the retirement of Dr. Coffey from the Presidency of the College. Members always had had real regard and affection for him; and his favours to the Society and abiding interest in it were recalled in tributes of unusual feeling and sincerity.

It was some months after the outbreak of war before convictions rather than debating points began to be generally expressed on national or international affairs. There had always, of course, been a thriving spinning industry in threadbare clichés about Partition, but the subject began to be discussed with more vigour and feeling after the revival of I.R.A. activity in England. Personalities, nevertheless, rather than principles predominated. The late Frank Ryan, then imprisoned by General Franco, was often the subject of controversy; demands for his release came from a few speakers who supported his cause and from many who, in the traditional phrase, 'held no brief for him'. In March 1938 the House had rejected a motion favouring Irish neutrality in the event of war, but when neutrality had become a fact the mood changed; and in 1940 neutrality had become so acceptable that a motion was introduced in private business—on the 4th of May—calling on Britain to 'seek a negotiated peace with Germany'. That was the occasion when Desmond Williams, even then politically conscious, spoke with such effect that he was eventually suspended for intimidating the Auditor. The influence of the foreign press was also deplored by members, including Williams, who felt that as the language barrier deprived propaganda in German and Italian of direct access to Ireland, our neutrality should be safeguarded by the prohibition of foreign newspapers and films in English as well.

The outlook of the Society in these days was, therefore, sometimes parochial; our political consciousness was not markedly developed save on certain domestic issues. We were comfortable in our complacency. Most of us were proud of our own political institutions but remained detached when similar democratic institutions were being overthrown elsewhere. The majority of members now regarded neutrality as a moral

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principle rather than a political expedient and raised their voices if someone argued to the contrary. When Mr. James Dillon opposed neutrality at the inaugural meeting in 1942, it was nearly five minutes before his ability to command a hostile audience secured him a hearing. By that time, however, I was no longer closely in touch with the mood of the Society. The last active participation that I can remember was when I moved the adjournment of the House in January 1941 to mark the death of a celebrated ex-member, Mr. James A. Joyce.



Chapter VII.

IN THE NEW PHYSICS (1939-1955)

In the period covered by this chapter, the Society has met in the New Physics Theatre in Earlsfort Terrace. Its advantages are not readily discernible; and it is little wonder if past members look back on 86 with nostalgia and on the new meeting-place with distaste. This semi-circular arena, with rows of benches ascending to the back, is only too obviously a lecture theatre. The Auditor and committee sit behind a long and high demonstrator's bench which half-conceals them. The entrances are in recesses behind them, a strategically unfortunate arrangement. These functional surroundings possess one advantage which the Old Physics clearly lacked—space. Their effects on the standard of debate have been much discussed. The acoustics, though certainly superior to those of the Aula Maxima, are inferior to those of the Old Physics. The intimate delivery and sense of immediacy which marked the meetings in the Old Physics are lost in the New. Nevertheless, the Society has survived the change; and by some magic the New Physics is acquiring its own traditions.

I.—WALTER TREANOR

FOR FIVE YEARS OF WAR, every debate was coloured by the changing battle fortunes of 'the Empire'. Even the smoke-screen of an unenlightened press censorship failed to dim the debating enthusiasm of the partisans and antagonists of the country's neutrality; in no other society was freedom of speech more zealously cultivated. Unfortunately an issue such as neutrality was apt to produce more heat than light, and there was a steady decline in the literary content of the speeches. The Auditor in 1940-41, Meenan Secundus (yclept Patrick

Nahor) was fortunate in inheriting a floor leader of the intellectual calibre of Patrick Lynch. Lynch, the Jacobin Martin Sheridan, and the mystical Dáithi Hanly, formed a link with the turbulent thirties and carried the halo of men who had fought the Spanish Civil War in a crowded back room in 86. Private business always took precedence over the public debate, because none of these giants had much interest in formal speechmaking and less in medal-hunting. An evening's sport to them was the cutting short of a political tirade by Roger Hayes, or the elevation of Rory Roberts' deeper tones by at least half an octave. There was no unnecessary waste of words, just a quick clean thrust and then on to the next victim. Aiding them were the witticisms of two other holders of seats 'on the mountain', J. J. O'Donoghue and Frank Monaghan.

This was, by any standard, one of the great years in the Society's history. The wealth of talent at the Auditor's disposal and the high calibre of private business could perhaps be best measured by the general exodus that followed the arrival of the visiting chairman. At the end of the year, there was no mistaking the widespread satisfaction among the members at the annual meeting. The Society had successfully made the dreaded move from its first home in 86, the membership had increased considerably, and relations with the authorities had never been better. Fionnuala McCann, in seconding the vote of thanks to the Auditor, aptly expressed the Society's appreciation of the contribution he had made to these successes.

With the accession of Frank Roe to the auditorial office, the Society became more like a political club than a debating forum. The Auditor established something of a precedent in this period by taking a vigorous part in the public debate. In this session also there was an end to the traditional separation of powers between the Society and its lusty offspring, the Students' Representative Council. Roe, while Auditor, held the office of President of the Council, and private business time offered his political opponents splendid opportunities for criticism of his conduct of student affairs. Occasionally there were fine speeches by the brothers Finlay or by Desmond Williams, but the ever-increasing numbers of non-members attending the

meetings were interested only in the battles of the precocious politicians. This, however, made for packed and exciting meetings.

Under Meenan Tertius, variously known as C.F. or F.O., there was a brief return to the older traditions, and a healthier respect among the members for the rules of debate. Although he was by nature a cricket and tennis playing conservative, Meenan encouraged the participation of several new radical members in both private and public debate, and he re-established the Auditor's quasi-judicial role. His successor, Richard Cremins, entered a Jesuit novitiate soon after his election, and the members for the first time elected an architectural student as Auditor. The man chosen, Peter Hogbin, was remarkable in many other respects also. In his year, public debates attracted so much attention that it was possible to follow the Society's fortunes in the political columns of the Sunday papers. Cabinet ministers and opposition leaders accepted invitations with less reluctance than usual, largely because Hogbin had introduced the idea of permitting a preliminary speech by the visiting chairman.

Occasionally, the number of speakers on a motion was limited to four on each side. The visiting speaker was given the task of opening for the affirmative and of summing up the debate. On these full-dress occasions, the opposing view was usually presented by the Society's medallist and outstanding orator, Ciaran McAnally, a young Donegal-man with the evangelistic fervour of a Billy Graham and the histrionic ability of a James Dillon. There was no mistaking McAnally's dislike of things British, and under his leadership there began a steady decline in the influence of the more conservative groups who favoured the country's association with the British Commonwealth. McAnally personally had a profound respect for the Society's traditions and for the preservation of orderly debate, but some of his more radical colleagues were resentful of his insistence on evolutionary changes. After nearly a decade of stalemate in the alignments of the major political parties, splinter groups were being formed from dissatisfied supporters of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael. The signs of this nascent

enthusiasm were also seen in the Society. Correspondence time was chosen as offering opportunities for the introduction of the new leaders of these splinter parties to the student body. Indeed throughout most of the Michaelmas term, the radicals missed no opportunity, during acrimonious debates on additions to the office of Vice-President, to show that they not only controlled the occasional visitors but some of the dues-paying members as well. Divisions within the conservative coalition became increasingly apparent, especially on those occasions when the pro-Commonwealth faction tried to reverse this trend towards militant republicanism. An important group within the coalition started negotiations with some of the radical members. Although the traditionalists were to retain control of the auditorship and of committees for the two succeeding sessions, floor leadership had been completely assumed by the radicals, and it was obvious, at the end of Hogbin's year, that the boarding-school dynasty was in jeopardy.

The present writer has a not-unnatural aversion to writing of the auditorship of Walter J. Treanor. It was a year distinguished by increasing interest and fruitful research in the history of the Society. The Auditor ruled without much regard for the advice of his committee and was equally autocratic in his control of the House. His well-known advocacy of continuing ties with the Commonwealth countries made him a natural target for the strong separatist wing, led by Seán Flanagan, while his intrigues in S.R.C. affairs divorced him from many of his former supporters among the traditionalists. This mounting strife between House and Auditor attracted large audiences and wide participation in debate by new members. But unfortunately, political debates became so commonplace that the quasi-literary function of the Society was conveniently forgotten.

This emphasis on demagoguery was continued into the next session when the law students again asserted their claim to the auditorship by the election of a King's Inn student, Eamonn M. Walsh. Walsh repaid his numerous radical supporters by an outright rejection of the conservative policies of his predecessor, and, with the ending of the world war, was able to assume an

almost judicial serenity in the face of increasingly obvious inroads by the republican groups. With the assistance of a politically competent correspondence secretary, Ivar Boden, the Auditor's influence extended into every major society within the College, including the S.R.C. Once again there was a regrettable over-lapping of the functions of the two societies.

It became apparent half-way through the session that the radicals were going to demand full payment for their support of Walsh, as their new leader, Francis J. Martin, announced his intention of seeking the auditorship. There was no doubt about the eagerness with which his candidature was accepted by the anti-traditionalist wing of the Society. For the first time since the success of T. P. Ó Siaghail, an Auditor was chosen from outside the conservative caucus. In the face of increasing intervention by the College authorities into the affairs of student societies, Martin's insistence on the Society's privileged position brought him into conflict with the Registrar. Throughout his auditorship, consistent advice was always available from those members of the faculty who had held office in the Society, particularly from J. C. Flood, R. W. Dudley Edwards, George O'Brien, Louis Roche, and Paddy Donovan. It was largely because of the assistance of these ex-members that the difficulties with the Registrar were smoothed over.

There was little to distinguish one inaugural meeting from another during most of the war years. Neutrality was always one of the favourite subjects for debate, which meant that James Dillon was arrayed against one of the members of the ruling Fianna Fáil ministry. Patrick Meenan spoke forcefully about the wasteful preparation of prime 'beef and brains' for the export market. His principal speaker, the gargantuan Sir Walter Langdon-Brown, pointed out the innumerable benefits that both England and Ireland derived from this one-way traffic. Langdon-Brown's political *naïveté* was quickly overlooked by the audience in the laughter that followed his description of himself as a 'shadow of a man'. Another example of an Ireland as seen through the eyes of an Imperialist was provided by the principal speaker at the inaugural of the 90th session, Sir John

Milne Barbour. A former Minister in the Stormont Parliament, Milne Barbour described in glowing terms all the advantages that Ireland had enjoyed under the benevolence of Victoria Regina. His eulogies on the charm of Leopardstown race meetings and the gaiety of the parties at the Viceregal Lodge showed how oblivious the older Unionists were to the changes that had been effected during twenty years of self-government. His speech moreover served a useful purpose in bringing into clearer focus the real ideological differences that existed on the two sides of the border. One other little known incident about this particular meeting was the presence of a large contingent of special police officers, scattered at strategic points throughout the audience. At this time, April 1944, the Partition question was being debated with greater force than for more than a decade, and the Government was aware of the depth of anti-Orange sentiment among a large segment of the student population. Fortunately Milne Barbour presented the Unionist case in such poor light that the audience's reaction was one of pity rather than anger, and the most elaborate of inaugurals ended almost dully.

In summary, the six years which have been rather hastily discussed in this account were not particularly distinguished ones. There was some useful work done on the history of the period after the establishment of the Royal University; a few innovations in the order of debate were made by Hogbin and his immediate successors. But, in retrospect, this was mainly a period in which the Society marked time. Initially there had been a great deal of uncertainty about the prospects of filling the capacious Physics Theatre. Towards the end of this period there was just as much uncertainty how the Society would adjust itself to the more stringent controls imposed by the authorities.

Quite a few members from this period have made notable contributions to public life. Liam Cosgrave, Seán Flanagan and Declan Costello continue to debate with the same vigour the same political issues that they fought over in the 1940's. Ruadhri Roberts and Patrick Lynch are still arguing the merits of free enterprise: after fifteen years, there has been merely a change

in the number and quality of their listeners. A former record secretary, Joe MacHale, is still recording minutes, this time for the Governing Body of the College itself.

John McGartoll, a more than adequate Father Joseph to several Richelieus, is still playing the exacting game of political puppetry. Ministers may have little more tenure in office than the Auditors McGartoll supported, but even cabinet ministers may derive strength from him. Among the other distinguished civil servants, whose early successes were at debates in the Society, are Kevin Rush and Eamonn Kennedy of External Affairs. Rush and Kennedy, by consistent participation in public debate, developed such competence that they dominated their faculty society (the Commerce) for the period covered in this chapter.

The literary highlights of the Society's activities were provided mainly by the budding playwrights and actors of the L. & H.'s healthy offspring, the Dramatic Society. Niall Lawlor, sometime Director of this group, was unequalled as an effective debunker of the prolix and as a master of repartee. Supplying him with much useful material for his forays against the fatuous and the foolhardy, the late Denise Murphy played a significant role in the staging of many a memorable private business session. The brothers Hoey, of the saturnine features, gave some of the younger members from rural parts their first acquaintance with mysticism, and added a *soupçon* of anarchy when the need arose. Patrick Purcell could also inject some refreshing gobbledygook when the conservatives became abusive of their majority status. His subsequent talents as a novelist could easily be anticipated by his incisiveness during the exciting literary sessions of this era. Likewise, there was little doubt in anyone's mind that Oliver MacDonagh and Denis Holmes would later aspire to literary success. The revival of the *National Student* about 1944 was due chiefly to their tender nursing of a sickly child. Holmes also introduced some honest brokers as business managers in the persons of Thomas Guiney and the late John McNally. For the first time in more than a decade, close scrutiny of the financial records of the magazine, and later of all College societies, became the accepted thing.

Among the medical students who contributed to debates, one easily recalls the ebullient John Fleetwood and that very model committee-member, Maureen Madden. Somehow, the medicals as a group were never quite at ease in the free-wheeling atmosphere of the L. & H., preferring to huddle in their less turbulent faculty society. Lawyers dominated every meeting and most of the major offices in the Society. The brothers Finlay carried on a family association with the Society which dated back to 1882. Two colourful lawyer-politicos from Connaught, John McCarthy and Paddy Lindsay, were always ready to provide a welcome mixture of chaos and conservatism. Throughout the blackest period of Fine Gael's political fortunes, they showed that there were at least two young men active in the party's affairs. Another Sheehy arose to link this period with the golden days of the early century. All in all, the Society could not have maintained its position in the public eye if so many of the law students had not participated so fully in its management.

Because of this writer's geographical remoteness, there must, of necessity, be many omissions from the list of former L. & H. members who have added lustre to the Society's name. On the other hand perhaps an exile can see the Society's worth a little more clearly, and can more accurately appraise how participation in its debates influenced the careers, and often the political thinking, of sometime members. At a time when orthodoxy had become enshrined as a great national virtue, there was never in these years a lack of members to defend the Society's long traditions of free and full debate on all issues.

II.—OLIVER MACDONAGH

THOUGH I HAVE THE TEMERITY to write about the L. & H. in my time at University College, I cannot claim to have been an L. & H. man proper. I was never a successful speaker. In freshman innocence, I chose a night when J. C. Flood was in the chair to make my maiden speech, and never recovered from that first débâcle. In my second year, I conceived

the extraordinary notion that I might do better if my speeches were not prepared or thought about but left to the guidance of the moment. Heaven knows what miseries this delusion brought down upon my audiences and myself, but (partly from self-mortification and mostly through laziness) I persisted in it to the end. My sole term of office in the L. & H. was due entirely to the favour of that master politician, E. M. Walsh, and the peak of my career an occasion when I took his place in the Auditor's chair, due to his having some bigger political fish to fry in the provinces. Nonetheless, I remained a pretty regular attender and listener throughout my years in College. However much, at the mandarin stage, I adopted a *nil admirari* attitude, I always knew secretly that the greatest glories of an under-graduate career were to be gained in that gloomy theatre.

I was at College from 1941 to 1946. Thus, in one sense, I belonged to a war generation. In another, nothing could be farther from the truth. When I went to Cambridge in 1947, it was to a world of ex-servicemen whose experiences might have belonged to another planet. My best friend there was a man who had been shot down after a raid on Ploesti, who had hidden for a week in Hungarian marshes, and been imprisoned in Budapest (in the charge of a Good Soldier Schweik character who could never quite make up his mind to help him to escape) until the Russians doubtfully took him over. Another man I knew, a research mathematician from Bonn, had been a tank officer in Guderian's command. He had crossed and re-crossed the Dneiper, the Oka and the Don. Compared with them—and most of the under-graduates were men like these—our 'war' in Dublin was vicarious and dreamlike. It was something we read of day by day in newspapers. We followed the fortunes of the contestants with the same engaged detachment that men listen to a test match in Australia in the snugness and dark of a December dawn. It was all, so to say, two-dimensional: there was no element to make it pressing or palpable or to add perspective. If an Anglophile spoke of German concentration camps, half-a-dozen voices would tell him that it was the British who had invented concentration camps during their South African campaigns. And that would be that. Both

houses were equally plagued, and we ourselves, in Cromwell's phrase, 'totally uncommitted'.

Nonetheless, this vicarious war dominated our undergraduate life and our L. & H. Though there were not, so far as I can recall, many motions directly concerning the conflict or the belligerents, these formed the background to most serious debates, even to debates on domestic issues. For domestic politics were at that time overshadowed by 'neutrality', and in any event many roads therein led ultimately to partition, and through it to the war in which Great Britain was involved. It is not possible to say simply that the Society was divided into an Allied party, a German party and a party of neutralists. There were, rather, three distinct, if overlapping, lines of political division in its ranks: division according to Irish party allegiance, division on the general Left-Right pattern of Socialism *versus* Fascism, and division in the attitudes adopted towards Great Britain. Much the most important and immediate was, of course, the domestic triangle of I.R.A., Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, for the first two had by now fallen decisively and violently apart. There were a few supporters of the Labour Party (or parties, as they then were), and some obscure and minute division in the ranks of the doctrinaire republicans. But, broadly speaking, Left, Centre and Right, in a strictly national and constitutional sense, was the normal spectrum.

As a body, and particularly as a body of backbenchers, the L. & H. hovered between Left and Centre. No doubt, individually and in private, the overwhelming majority of members would have supported Mr. de Valera in his constitutional definitions and national policy. But, in accordance with the natural law which governs students everywhere, they pretended in the mass to a degree of radicalism beyond that of their secret inclination. At any rate, it always seemed to me that the noise and votes of the L. & H. in wartime, like the extreme Socialist victories in all English universities in the 1930's, should be proportionately discounted. It must also be remembered that Fianna Fáil had been very long in power and appeared almost irremovable. For the great majority of the Society, who were quite innocent of political ambitions but

young and healthily antagonistic to establishments, this was perhaps something of a stumbling block. Fine Gael, on the other hand, was at that time at the nadir of its fortunes. To our generation it seemed a gradually dwindling body of ageing men. As His Excellency's Opposition, as the alternative government waiting in the wings, it appeared to have no policy to offer but 'the same only rather less so'. Finally, it seemed pre-eminently and irremediably respectable. Subsequent history has shown this to be very false, but such was, I think, the prevailing impression of the time, and one ill-calculated to fire the blood. Nonetheless, many, if not indeed most, of the best speakers in the Society (in contradistinction to the solid and inarticulate body of the House) were Fine Gael in inclination. This may have been, in part, hereditary. A number were the sons of former or current politicians, or came of the legal, academic and bureaucratic families who had also formed part of the hierarchy of 1922. Perhaps, too, environment played a part. An extraordinarily large proportion of the most able leaders and speakers in the Society came from a handful of well-known Dublin schools. At any rate, it was a fact; and in consequence it is, I think, not unfair to say that in oratorical merit and administration the L. & H. inclined towards Fine Gael; that in collective sentiment it was pro-government; and that in collective voice and vote it was usually in opposition to the government and often (particularly on issues such as Roger McHugh's internment) positively Republican.

To a limited extent, the other lines of political division cut across all this. The very few socialists in the Society tended to support the Allies for obvious reasons, though one or two still maintained a Spanish Civil War tradition in which Popular Front politics for the Continent were combined with doctrinaire nationalism and hatred of Great Britain at home. Most, though not quite all, pro-Germans were extreme republicans. Some went the length of wearing leather jerkins or long black raincoats like a Nazi admiral, or swastikas in their lapels, for though they were quite in earnest, there was something schoolboyish about it all. Though by no means numerous, this 'Mountain' of the L. & H. threw up two or three magnificent speakers. The best

was Ciaran McAnally, who was not so much pro-German as an especially passionate and determined Ulster nationalist. For oratory of his own sort, wild, burning, yet ultimately controlled and intelligent, I have never heard his equal. It was one of the great experiences of the L. & H. to watch his slight, taut, immobile figure, as the knife-like sentences slowly built up to a *crescendo* of castigation, when he would bring his fists suddenly crashing down before the awed and silent House. There was, again, a British 'party', by which I mean not a party of unionists, but a party overtly hoping for a British victory. For the most part this merely consisted of the 'nice boys' from the Law Society, but E. M. Walsh, for one, had developed a coherent defence of the current Commonwealth. He had, moreover, the courage or insouciance of his conviction. Remembrance Day once fell upon a Saturday: disdaining even to glance down at the poppy he was wearing, he faced the excited mob with cold indifference. As the war wore on, the Society's interest in, and conflicts over it declined. This was so as early as 1943, by which time the United States (whom none would oppose) was thoroughly involved in hostilities, an Allied victory was assured, and the charges of German and Japanese atrocities and breaches of faith could no longer be pooh-poohed.

In my own view two men, successive Auditors, Walter Treanor and Eamonn Walsh, dominated the Society during these years. This they did, not by oratory or extraordinary intelligence (though both were able and ready speakers and competent if not especially ready students), but by elemental force of character and personality. Both were born politicians, born with the capacity for manipulating others and the instinct which could predict their likely movement. But the forms in which they expressed their powers were very different. Walsh, cool, inscrutable and impossible to face down, was on the pattern of the English Tory interloper, of the school of Beaconsfield and F. E. Smith. Indeed, I should be much surprised if he did not, in fact, take these two geniuses for his models. Treanor, on the other hand, was something of the American city 'boss'. He was a superlative leader, perpetually restless,

and extroverted and ambitious. But there was nothing petty in his ambition. No one could have been less vain, and in many ways he was both disinterested and a romantic. More than anybody else I knew in the Society, he had a feeling for the L. & H. as a living thing, as a part of continuing history; and nothing which might enhance its name or preserve its past was too much trouble for him to essay. In style of speaking, there was a striking contrast between the two. Walsh was formalized and witty. Whether being urbane or denunciatory, he was detached. Walter Treanor had an infectious chuckle when he amused himself, a stammer when he was nervous, humour, devil-may-careishness and, on occasions, the invaluable capacity to move an audience.

The greatest 'private member' of the Society in these years was, I should say, Kevin Lynch. I do not mean that he was 'independent' in the political sense; indeed, he was a rather strong party man. But he had no ambition whatever to hold office, he never trimmed his sentiments to suit an audience, and he allowed no private friendships or feelings to restrain him in his holy work of denouncing Auditors, committees and other powers that be. He was *mutatis mutandis* the John Bright type of radical, and similarly exasperating and incorruptible. He was not immediately popular with the Society, for his oratory was flat and plain. But, as he was gradually seen for what he was, he won a very general respect. He stood four-square before his audience, looked it in the face, and told it in effect that he was a Clareman and afraid of nothing. Another, but very different, independent was Charles Fitzsimons. Although he did once serve on the committee, he was essentially a lone wolf who belonged to no governing circle. He suffered, moreover, from a disadvantage which was not in the least his fault. His sister had recently and dramatically risen to film stardom, and he could never escape from the transferred notoriety. It was difficult for people to treat him on his own merits, and recognize that he was very intelligent and an abundant, if florid, speaker. That he eventually succeeded in imposing his personality on the house was, in the circumstances, a remarkable achievement.

An interesting contrast to the independents were P. R. Hogbin and Alec Hinkson. Both were fluent, classical in profile and dignified in demeanour. To revert to the Parliamentary metaphor, they looked junior Lords of the Treasury—on the Conservative side. Neither was perhaps in the first class in debate, but they made (as in the case of Hogbin) or would have made, good Auditors. Hinkson did not, in fact, become Auditor of the L. & H., but he presided over the Law Society at this time, and managed it mildly and extraordinarily well. In my very early days in the L. & H. the banner of labour was carried by Rory Roberts, who seemed a person (I did not know him myself), and was a speaker, of enormous charm and gusto. Later, the socialist mantle fell on Anthony Cronin. Cronin was excellent in debate on most occasions. He gave the impression that he was not a 'natural' speaker, but nervous, sensitive and driving himself to his task: but this merely heightened the predominant mark of his speeches, sincerity. The reputed *éminence grise* of labour was K. B. Nowlan. He certainly looked an *éminence grise*, but of what he was an eminence was by no means certain. I suspect that his intense interest in European politics was altogether academic. He did not often appear in the Society, but one at least of his performances was brilliant. Some time in 1945 or 1946 he consented to take the chair as M. Nowlansky, a representative of the Russian puppet government in Poland. After an early passage of arms with Frank Martin as to whether he belonged to the Lublin or Dublin Committee, he spoke for forty minutes of his experiences on the Russian flagship in the Japanese war of 1904, of his spell in the Duma, of his work as a political agent during the Baltic campaigns of 1919, and so on. It was much the best thing of its kind which I heard at the Society, compiled with the most intricate fantasy and grotesque accuracy of historical detail. For weeks after he was pointed out to one another by shocked and bewildered freshmen in the Main Hall, and we maintained the joke for a while in the *National Student*. One other of the serious debaters must be mentioned. This was Seán Flanagan who came to the L. & H. very late in his under-graduate career, but was, I should say, the best of all speakers on the Fianna

Fáil side. In contrast to most of his contemporaries, who tended towards the diffuse and flowery, Flanagan's oratory was remarkably economical and planned. His speeches derived from clear thinking and were delivered in a confident, rather rasping voice. Altogether, a formidable man.

Of course, then as always, much that was best in the L. & H. came from the back-benches and the foolery of private business. I remember well one earnest speaker pausing for effect after a technicoloured and inaccurate account of the fall of the last of the Romanovs. The awkward silence was broken by a hollow voice from the top of the House, 'He ain't gonna reign no more, no more'. The entire Society broke into laughter. In my first year one or two of what seemed to us the very Old Guard put in occasional appearances at private business. My first memory of my very first meeting is of sardonic, mock-serious Auditor-baiting by Patrick Lynch and a man called Monaghan. In our own times, the giant of private business was Ivar Boden. He looked Pickwickian, and played the part. He was not in the least mordant or satirical, but simply and irresistibly comic. One marvellous occasion was his polite cross-examination of (if I remember rightly) a bemused French *chargé d'affaires* on the subject of the pen of his aunt. His stock character was a Dublin gurrier who had a bee in his bonnet about George VI; and he maintained this for meeting after meeting without ceasing to be funny. In the generation which immediately followed, it was, I think, Kevin Burke and Frank Martin who approached nearest to Boden as private business men.

No doubt, this picture of the L. & H. is most subjective, and many would disagree with my choice or categorization of persons. I can only plead that this is my recollection, and that even at so short a distance of time, memory is random and eclectic. I need hardly add that the shortness of the distance in time can be inhibiting in other ways. But the main point is perhaps that the L. & H. is recollected as a community and a thing to which the particular actors are subordinate. Why is this so, what was its special magic? Not altogether the oratory: some of those who seemed to me to rank highest amongst

university speakers—Tom Finlay, Patrick Casey or Fergus O'Duffy—rarely, if ever, addressed the Society. Not the surroundings, which were, particularly at first sight, subterranean in general appearance, discordant in colour and forbidding. Not even the wit and intimacy and foolery: in these respects, it was sometimes surpassed by the smaller and more cliquely bodies such as the Law or Hall Societies. Yet it cannot be denied that the L. & H. is a great society, perhaps in the very first rank of under-graduate societies, and one which leaves an indelible impression on any member of sufficient sensibility to take it. Even the blackboards, the scored, ugly benches, the patched and faded plush forms and the drab walls are impressed with this character, and form an accepted background for every memory.

If we put the question less fancifully, and ask why the L. & H. is a great society, there are, I think, three main answers. The first is one that we must struggle against rejecting out of hand for triteness. Though it is tedious to be told, it is nonetheless true that Irishmen are born speakers. To apply Huxley's observation on Gladstone, you can put Irishmen, at any rate young Irishmen, in the middle of a moor with nothing in the world but their shirts, and still be unable to prevent them from being orators. Even if some fish slipped through the net, the majority of good speakers was held by the L. & H. and the harvest was rich enough. Secondly and relevant to this, the L. & H. by some providence steers a mean course between many of the dangers which beset student groups. It is political without being obsessed by future careers or subject to illusions of political grandeur. With some, if not sufficient, cause, it regards itself as the chief under-graduate body in a separate nation, and the chief nursery of public men in a new state. But politics do not intrude into its own affairs. Whether a man is Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael or Labour is literally irrelevant to the auditorship or the holding of other office. Thus, the petty machines and premature party spleen which bedevil some of the English universities are avoided. Again, the private business of the L. & H. takes place within a loose framework of Palgrave and the Constitution. As befits our

national character, it is decently legalistic and pedantic. But the forms are not taken seriously. The Society is not dominated, as many such societies tend to be, by irrelevant parliamentarianism and procedural mumbo-jumbo, which, however appropriate to the real business of legislating, become absurd if applied exactly to the pretence of it. Correspondingly, foppishness and the imaginary 'parliamentary manner' are almost unknown at the L. & H. It has, of course, its own compensating vices, but they are not so deadly. Finally, the L. & H. is both the nearest embodiment of a university which our under-graduates experience at their own level, and the field where our under-graduate achievement and past come nearest to those of even the most celebrated and ancient rivals.

I do not think it is only romantics or antiquarians amongst under-graduates who feel this hunger for a history, for a sense of belonging to some great and living organism well-rooted in tradition. I think it is a need of under-graduates of every sort and everywhere. In a non-residential university placed in the heart of a capital city, the bias towards loss of identity as under-graduates and faculty segregation is powerful. Of the counteracting agencies, the L. & H. is in my view incomparably the most widespread and influential, much more palpable and attainable to the great majority of students than, say, the S.R.C. It has, again, magical and prophetic names at its foundation and throughout its vicissitudes, a folklore, a hereditary ethos and a history which is ancient in the time scale of under-graduate organizations the world over. Because it is, in its context, so superior a medium for instinctive under-graduate aspirations, it taps the best in each under-graduate generation, to a degree to which debating societies in other universities with multitudinous alternatives cannot. And each generation in University College not only draws on it for satisfaction. It adds to the living tradition in so doing.

III.—F. X. ROONEY

I MADE MY ACQUAINTANCE with the L. & H. some time in 1944 when Wally Treanor held sway there. Whether it was due to the first illusion of inexperienced youth, or whether it was a reality, I gained the impression, which I have retained

to this day, that at that time the Society was singularly fortunate in that it had an array of outstanding speakers to entertain it.

Most of these will have been mentioned elsewhere, but a few of them will bear repetition. On the one hand was Ciaran McAnally, who made carefully prepared and forcefully delivered speeches calculated to excite the most cynical of us, invariably for a cause in which it was recognised that he was a sincere believer, notwithstanding the fact that his opinions did not commend themselves to the majority. It must be remembered that in those days the issues then at stake between the Axis and the Allies could be the subject of much controversy. McAnally voiced the sentiments of all those who were pro-German because they were anti-British, and he did so in such a skilful way that he never failed to get a hearing and at most times enjoyed the compliment of complete silence.

On the other hand Eamonn Walsh, whose style was more conventional, defended the Commonwealth concept and held himself out to be the most diehard of all conservatives. Mid-way between came Ivar Boden, whose dignified buffoonery was a plague on both their houses. Walsh's pre-eminence in the Society was at that time barely challenged and consequently he had an easy victory in the auditorial elections in 1945 over Niall McCarthy.

Unfortunately, during his year of office many of the best speakers were absent and he did not appear to devote sufficient time to organisation, so too often last-minute visiting chairmen were thrust upon the Society. The accepted policy was to invite someone who could speak with authority on the subject of the public debate. This rule did not apply to ex-Auditors who, by virtue of their office, were deemed to be experts on all matters from ghosts to the French Revolution.

In their task of conducting the debates, the visiting chairmen were assisted by the House. It was no mean achievement for a speaker to command its undivided attention and a poor speech would be greeted with mockery while side-shows might develop to distract this fickle audience. But the converse was also true; and I have heard hecklers shouted down who interfered when the speaker had something to say and was saying it well.

Speeches in Irish were rare, and unpopular with Auditors and audience. In the course of such speeches there were many points of order in which the Chair was informed that the speaker was being either indecent in his expressions or disrespectful. As in most cases the chairman or Auditor could not verify this, the speaker was silenced. The Irish revival policy readily provoked a debate; but I seldom found that the subject was of general interest.

The auditorial election of 1946 was conducted with such bitterness between the rival factions that it took years to eradicate the differences then created. On one side was Anthony Cronin, a preacher of socialism who nevertheless enjoyed the support of the conservative members of the Society. Among the finest speeches I have heard was his proposal, in Walsh's year, that the late Jim Larkin should be elected a vice-president. The motion was unpopular but Cronin's eloquence nearly won the day. On the division being taken by roll-call, the necessary two-thirds majority was missed by one vote—which was not unconnected with the last-minute arrival of Peter Hogbin. Later, on the occasion of Larkin's death, Cronin proposed a vote of sympathy in deeply moving terms. To return to the 1946 election; the other candidate was Frank Martin who had been prominent in Hogbin's auditorship. The count was held up while allegations of malpractices were investigated; but the legal assessors dismissed the charges. On the count being taken, Martin was elected by a small majority.

In the Michaelmas term of 1946 those who opposed the Auditor found themselves at first in a complete minority. They ranged themselves on the left hand side of the Physics Theatre and commenced a campaign of obstruction and assault on the citadel of authority. The spectacle drew crowds to the meetings. Apart from James Sorahan and Patrick O'Kelly (who remained independent throughout this controversy) all the leading members of the Society were found in the ranks of the opposition. While they lacked leadership and cohesion, they nevertheless severely harried the Auditor and attempted to loosen his grip upon procedure at various meetings. Chief among them were Kevin Burke, Philip Curran, W. V. Kingston and Terence O'Regan.

The Society at this time was not well regarded in some quarters; and the situation was not improved by the auditorial election of 1947. The two candidates were James Sorahan and Kevin Burke. The list of voters was heavily challenged the moment it was published. The President acted very promptly. He suspended the constitution and appointed Mr. J. C. Flood to be the sole authority in the Society with instructions to hold an election in the fairest manner that he could devise. It may have been that Sorahan's supporters were intimidated by the prestige of the formidable ex-Auditor; at all events Kevin Burke secured a comfortable majority.

During his year of office, Burke was sometimes criticized for his acceptance of restrictions placed upon the Society's activities, but few people realised the delicate position in which he found himself. There was little official confidence in the Society or in its members, and it might have been temporarily suspended were it not for Burke's careful and tactful handling of each situation as it arose. The new members showed promise, especially Miss Sylvia Shiel, who was later to earn the distinction of being the first lady speaker ever to win the President's gold medal for Oratory.

During the year it became obvious that Paddy O'Kelly coveted auditorial honours and that the only other candidate in the field was W. V. Kingston. The campaign went on during the closing months of the session; but at the last moment Kingston withdrew and O'Kelly was elected unopposed.

O'Kelly proposed that I should be elected a life member of the Society, following the precedent set by Walter Treanor who had proposed a motion in 1945 to confer a similar honour on Kevin Lynch and Ciaran McAnally. Walsh had likewise secured the election of Ivar Boden. The votes were all taken at annual general meetings; and I do not know whether the practice has been continued. I was not a frequent attendee at debates in O'Kelly's year which was supremely successful.

I regret that I have not got the art to convey to the casual reader the true atmosphere of the L. & H. in those years. I am unable to describe the hectic air of our meetings, the sudden changes of mood, the wit, the expectancy, the whole-hearted

applause for a good speaker, and the tense excitement of an important vote. No audience was more fickle and none more tolerant of anything but a bad speech. I trust that it is the same today.

IV.—ULICK O'CONNOR

IN THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL one was always conscious of an oratorical tradition. It is not surprising perhaps that the art should have flourished in a city where talking is the national pastime. Besides, oratory is properly speaking an Irish gift. Ireland has had its Burkes, Grattans and O'Connells, just as Provence had its Troubadours, Vienna its Kreislers and Lehars. Anyway the effect of the Society on a newcomer was most exhilarating. None of the good speakers used notes. Those who read from them were counted out by the crowd: the orators addressed the audience in a stream of phrase, and it was the twinkling of the spoken words, as they tumbled out in spontaneously constructed periods, that held the audience in rapt attention.

There were tricks: some of the orators moved their bodies as they spoke, swaying more frequently as they got caught up in some oratorical rhythm: nearly all chose the witty phrase when it came and delivered it at the expense of the subject on hand. The attention of this audience had to be secured if any idea, no matter how original, was to be proffered to them. No Christian in the Roman amphitheatre received worse treatment from the mob than was sometimes meted out to speakers by these voracious youths in the L. & H. Tradition placed a high premium on heckling. Heckling in its own way can be a minor art; the heckler depending on the orator as the violinist depends on the composer. Here its status was recognised and treasured like some ancient practice in Apollo's vault. A note in the minute book of 1947 states: 'a notable feature of the debate was the ultra-high standard of the heckling which was much enjoyed and appreciated by the House'.

The orator had to contend with this attack, and every pause for breath or phrase was pregnant with the danger of a fresh

onslaught from the 'boys' at the back. To improve the heckle in reply, always won the night for the speaker, for this audience were as scrupulous in the rules of wordsmanship, as the National Sporting Club was about the Marquess of Queensbury rules. Sometimes the great got into top gear, and now there was no need for riposte as the audience reached forward to the speaker's lips, in rapt attention as he dispensed the ingredients of his art.

I think the presence of the mob had a lot to do with the standard of speaking. Art, not verbiage, was needed to quiet them. It was passing fair indeed to hold such a crew in thrall. It knocked the pomposity out of many who in other universities would have used the debating society as a haven from less precious forms of College activity, where their mediocrity would have quickly come to light. To those who had metal in them, this mayhem was a quick forge and working-house of speech.

In my first year the Auditor, Francis Martin, was an excellent dispenser of repartee, which in terms of L. & H. adulation meant the same thing as being a Celtic player in the Gorbals of Glasgow. Here he turned aside each attack with adroit skill, and when the opposition began to breathe too heavily down his neck, he would set the mob on them with a lightning flash of his wit.

This was a good year for private business. Private business of course is a vital part of the night's proceedings in the L. & H. Sometimes it is the *only* part of the night's proceedings, and public debate doesn't begin until next morning. In such circumstances the chairman tends to be an ornament. Of course some chairmen like the Earl of Wicklow, Dr. Dudley Edwards and Mr. Seán Lemass, gave back more than they got and were an instant success.

The speakers I remember most clearly in Martin's year, were Rory O'Hanlon, James Sorahan, Philip Corduff and Donal O'Brien. O'Hanlon's speech was always prepared in that he ordered his thoughts beforehand. But he had an agile mind that seized on passing whimsies and elaborated them, until he reached his climax in gales of laughter. He had besides a peculiar method of inflecting certain words, so that often quite trivial things seemed funny on his lips.

Sorahan was the real spirit of the L. & H. His favourite position was at the back amongst the mob, from whence he would spring to ask elaborately phrased and entirely preposterous questions. Often he sailed down to the rostrum, and then he would address the house in passages of genuine flowing oratory. He seemed as timeless as Pater's *Mona Lisa* and had been in the Society for some years before, and was to be in it for many years after. He had an imaginative sense of humour, and there were few enterprises in the Society that did not originate in his fertile mind.

Donal O'Brien had an aura of romance about him. He was like an Irish Borgia, with dark sleek hair, pencil-thin moustache and sallow skin, and with the most preposterous Limerick-Oxford accent I have ever heard. He had not, as I remember, a great gift of phrase, but his deep, biting voice held us spellbound, as did his constant reiteration that he could not speak freely owing to the presence of detectives in the house. These sometimes turned out to be innocent pressmen or new porters.

Philip Corduff also had an air of mystery attached to him. He was a big, tough youth, older than most, with a beautiful voice, soft Donegal, and of extraordinary depth. He seemed deeply anti-British but his protests were always made with dignity.

Peter Hogbin, with all the glory of a brilliant year as Auditor behind him, came in from time to time to dispense witty heckles and propose occasional votes of confidence in King George VI.

Recently, when I saw *Moulin Rouge*, I was reminded of Terence O'Regan (who was in the film), another notable figure of the time, who silenced all with a pose of the most colossal effrontery.

These speakers drew the crowds. I never remember such large audiences afterwards. By half-seven the aisles of the stairs were packed tight with people; soon the considerable standing space near the door was full; there were times even when the huge crowds milled down the corridors to the road, passing the speakers' remarks back to each other, like the crowds

at Daniel O'Connell's meetings. Besides students a number of the citizens patronised the meetings.

Martin's auditorship had a lot to do with this. A mob lover *malgré lui*, he was always on the look-out for something to quicken the pulse-beat. One night after standing orders had been suspended with the enthusiastic consent of the House (the opposition group dissenting of course) a Miss Tyana accompanied by her performing pythons made an entrance to the Society. The horrified chairman edged uneasily in his chair as a suitcase of pulsating pythons was placed in front of him. Martin seized the occasion to read a shaky financial report. Then Tyana produced her pipes. Her purported Egyptian descent was exposed as false when she spoke to us in a strong Glasgow accent, declining to produce the pythons from the case until the young men stopped making those noises. The young men were all hissing in a fashion calculated to make the snakery do their stuff. Unfortunately it brought out a nasty streak in the reptiles, and we only had a fleeting glimpse of their scaly skins before they were clamped down again in their case.

The minutes of this year record that 'a performance of ventriloquism was received with warm acclamation by the crowd'. Another night a monster gathering of the Society had been summoned to protest against a meeting which the Dean of Canterbury had addressed in Dublin, and at which some College students who protested had been beaten up. This was grist to Martin's mill, if gall and wormwood to the nice boys. Half the seventh city of Christendom turned up. O'Brien made an immense speech. The injured, with bandages and plaster, were afforded a sympathetic passage to a place of honour. The other speakers dwelt in some detail on projected attacks on the Dean's person, should he return to Dublin. The crowds sent up howls of fury. At the end a working man got up and asked to be allowed speak. He was apparently one of those who had opposed the students. After a vote was taken he addressed the house, amid shouts at first, but finishing up in attentive silence. This was one of the first public appearances of Mr. Brendan Behan.

Martin's year drew fitfully to a close. I remember four

other Auditors in the years that followed. These years varied in intensity: none of them quite captured the atmosphere of Martin's year. Perhaps it would have taken Barnum and Bailey to fill the gap.

Kevin Burke followed Frank Martin as Auditor. He was witty enough, and could turn a remark back on a heckler. But he was hindered by lack of opposition. The opposition had helped to make the previous year a success: now they had gone native like the Normans; they were part of the forces they had once opposed.

Still the crowds came along. Some of the good speakers remained on. The minutes of this year seem a little dull but later Philip Curran livened them up by writing occasionally in blank verse or iambics. A lot of the humour of this year was contrived—not enough of it—from the earthy sources at the back. Strangely the best heckles I ever heard, always came from the 'boys'—imagination uncloyed by pose or convention. About this time I found a roost among them, and their company was most congenial. Besides, their support was always valuable. They could be counted on to rise to the purple passage and the ringing period. With them behind one, most Auditors could be kept in their place. Suspensions though, became not infrequent both in this year and the next. The next year was Paddy O'Kelly's. His has been dealt with elsewhere, but I remember him as an independent spirit, who took some courageous stands. He had a good sense of humour, and despite a veneer of respectability had a feeling for the mob, which touched his year with individuality.

The year after, I went to America. When I came back, nearly a year later, the L. & H. seemed different. Perhaps for me shades of the prison house had begun to close. Anyway some glory seemed to have passed from the Society.

I tried to revive the old fire. The mob were behind me, but the Auditor was not. Perhaps I was out of tune. In the past the Society had been at times so outrageous that the only way the authorities could avoid suppressing it was to pretend that, like an old family retainer, it didn't come within the scope of normal authority. Now the Society was subject (and

perhaps rightly so) to College supervision. One night the Auditor introduced the old routine of suspension. This time it meant something, and notices were put up all round the College and in the newspapers to say that I was expelled and was forbidden to enter the Society again. The challenge was too much to resist. In O'Kelly's year I had come in disguised as a parson. Now I thought of making up as a negro. Sorahan, the Diagelev of most L. & H. enterprises, said no: a woman would be less noticeable. As it proved he was right. Sorahan worked overtime to produce the props for the transformation. On a trial run in the city the night before, the results were encouraging. Indeed the make-up seemed too good. Several amorous gentlemen pursued me. The police were near, so it was necessary to think quickly: I turned around and in a deep baritone told these gallants to beat it. An extra oath or two sent them scurrying.

On Saturday night an actor friend spend three hours making me up in the Abbey Theatre. Sorahan produced two sporting and handsome girl friends and, in their midst, I successfully negotiated the scrutineers who were watching carefully at the door of the College. Word was round the city that a lark was on, so the Physics was packed.

Once in, I moved towards the back. There, I knew, were friends. I sat unrecognised while those around speculated obscenely on the prospects of my arrival. An hour passed. When the Auditor stated that if Mr. O'Connor attempted to enter the hall he would be suspended, I rose speedily to second him. For a moment my falsetto seemed to carry the hour. Then I was recognised and pandemonium broke loose. I removed my wig and waved it at the crowd, much as a visitor stepping off the *Queen Mary* will doff his hat to the cheering populace. Factions began to take sides for and against. Speeches were made from the body of the hall. The atmosphere became electric. Half-an-hour passed. Then the Auditor announced he was calling for the police to remove me. I produced handcuffs to chain myself to the desk. 'He looked as if he had stepped out of one of those pictures of suffragettes in old bound numbers of the *Illustrated London News*', wrote Brian Inglis, in *The*

Irish Times. 'Yet with one leg chained to the bench, and handicapped as he was by his tea gown, Mr. O'Connor, who is college boxing champion, gave the impression he could look after himself.' It was most important to give this impression. There were only a few of us, and someone's blood was up. Besides the arrival of the constabulary was imminent. A faithful few in the back stood firm in a consequential hour: Thomas Kearney, Brian Hourihane, John de Courcy, Giles Kelleher, Geoffrey Burke, Sorahan and a younger O'Connor.

Perhaps our fierceness won the day. Anyway after a short while it seemed plain whose was the palm. I lifted my dress, negotiated the hostile part of the house, and walked unscathed to the open air.

It was, as it turned out, my last night in the L. & H. It had been an amusing four years, and I suppose the bubble had to burst sometime. A lot of it had been outrageous but, as Lady Desborough used to say of the Edwardian age, 'it was fun'.

University education only became available to the majority of Irishmen after 1850: Tradition of any sort is not a plentiful commodity in Irish life. In the Literary and Historical there was something that had come down from Newman. The rules and conventions of the Society had grown out of itself. Its names, Kettle, Joyce, Bodkin, O'Higgins, and others were ones to look up to. It has meant much to those who have passed through the College. At times, of course, its conduct has been indefensible. Private business has been tedious and smart, sometimes degenerating to mere hooliganism. But this is ebb and flow, and there were always nights when the wit flew like fire crackers, and the sheer brilliance of it astonished audience and speakers alike. Such a tradition should not easily be tampered with.

V.—CHARLES DOYLE

I BEGAN TO ATTEND THE SOCIETY in the auditorship of Patrick J. O'Kelly. His opening meeting was a past versus present affair, following the precedent of Kevin Burke's year. Dr. Dudley Edwards presided for debate on a motion calling

on the government to affirm its intention of maintaining our neutrality in the event of another war. At the next meeting a letter from the President was read, requiring the appointment of a senior treasurer from among the members of the College staff. This rule now applies to all clubs and societies and nobody who understands student affairs could regard it as unjustified. The late Professor M. J. Ryan held the office until his death in October 1952 and was succeeded by Dr. John O'Donovan.

In national politics the year 1948 was marked by the fall from office of the Fianna Fáil government in February, and the declaration in August that the Twenty-Six Counties would be created a Republic early in the next year. Political feeling was high and the members of the Literary and Historical had ringside seats for some of the most interesting bouts of controversy.

A short time after this the repeal of the External Relations Act of 1936 was made the subject of a special debate. For this event the Society moved its forum from the Physics Theatre to the Old Council Chamber. The chairman was Mr. Seán MacBride, then Minister for External Affairs. The crowd was in excellent humour and the evening passed uneventfully. The chairman began his summing-up somewhat like this:

. . . I am pleased to have an opportunity of speaking to you on this subject in this historic room, where the Treaty debates took place, presiding perhaps from the very chair which was occupied by the chairman at those debates. . .

At that point a member of the audience remarked in a loud voice: 'Is that what you call political economy?'

A crisis occurred at the beginning of the Hilary term. A debate on the motion: *That the Ideals of the Communist Manifesto are worthy of Humanity* had been advertised in the College in the usual way. Dr. Owen Sheehy-Skeffington of Trinity College, Dublin, had been invited to move the motion as guest speaker. On learning of this arrangement, which he did on the day before the meeting, the President informed the Auditor that he would not allow the debate to be held.

At the ensuing meeting the Auditor permitted debate on the President's ruling, as a result of which there was a long correspondence in the public press. On the following Saturday night, a simple private meeting was held at which a statement was made from the chair informing members that in future all invitations to persons outside the College to speak at the Society must have the President's prior approval. This was merely a re-statement of powers which the authorities of the College had always held and had previously exercised.

The inaugural meeting of that year was held in May, a couple of weeks before the annual election. The President of the College was in the chair. The speakers were Mr. Seán MacBride, Senator Denis Ireland, Don Salvador de Madariaga and Colonel Crosthwaite Eyre, M.P. The paper was entitled *Quicksands of Peace*. It dealt with European unity, but three of the speakers devoted themselves mostly to the partition question. Madariaga was most successful in pointing out the humorous features of political controversy and his speech which dealt mainly with the European cultural heritage was the most telling speech of the night.

The election of 1949 was hardly and cleanly fought. The candidates were P. J. Connolly, W. V. Kingston, Michael McDevitt and James Sorahan. The latter was nominated at the last moment and only by way of a joke. The McDevitt and Connolly camps were thrown temporarily into confusion by the sudden emergence of a rival whose widespread and long-standing popularity could filch so much of their support. Before polling took place, however, he told his friends to abide by their former allegiances and set the example by not voting for himself. The electorate was small, only about thirty people having qualified for the vote. Connolly was elected on the third count by sixteen votes to fifteen for Kingston.

The next year gave a lively private business but there were only a couple of big nights in public debate. Of these the most important was a political debate held early in the second term with Mr. Arthur Cox in the chair. The motion averred: *That the Inter-Party Government had justified the People's Confidence*. Mr. Seán Collins, T.D., acted as proposer and Mr. Vivion

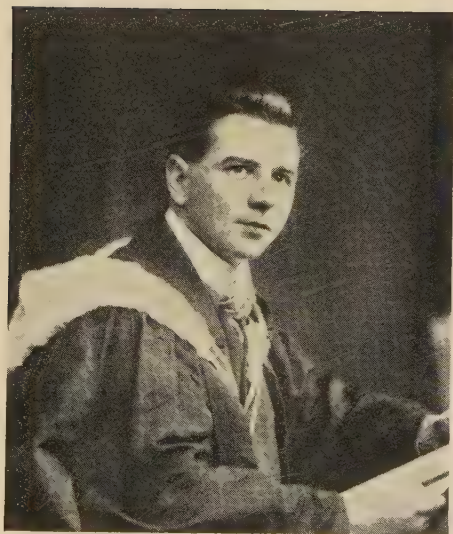
CRUISE O'BRIEN

Auditor, 1906-07



JOHN RONAYNE

Auditor, 1911-12



de Valera, T.D., led the dissentients. The motion was not put to the vote.

Connolly's achievements were made as chairman in private business, a task for which he had an uncanny aptitude, and as representative and negotiator. He improved relations with the College authorities and obtained an increase of the annual grant to the Society's funds. He also established, or rather revived, friendly relationships with similar debating societies in English, Scottish and Welsh Universities. Before leaving office he made some alterations in the constitutional provisions affecting the award of medals. At an Extraordinary General Meeting towards the end of the Trinity term the Society resolved to abolish the medal for lady speakers and to award a silver instead of a gold medal to the best first-year speaker. It was decided also that for the future no award of the President's gold medal for Oratory should be made to any member who should have a total of less than thirty-six marks for his four best speeches and that no award of the Society's silver medal be made to anyone with a total of less than thirty-four marks for his four best speeches. There was some opposition to the removal of the medal for lady speakers. The Auditor's argument was that the existence of a special medal for lady speakers was an insult to them. They were on an equal footing with male members and quite capable of holding their own in open contest. It should be mentioned here that at the end of that session, the President's gold medal was captured for the first time in the Society's history by a lady speaker, Miss Sylvia Shiel.

The election of that year was robust throughout. The campaign began early and was in full swing before Easter. At the outset there was a large field of likely starters but at the final call-over only three remained. They were Richard Ryan, Michael McDevitt, one of the defeated candidates of the previous year, and Gerard Sheehy, a student of engineering. Both Ryan and McDevitt were backed by strong factions. The first round of the contest ended with a tie between Ryan and McDevitt. A second election was called for a fortnight later, and Sheehy announced his withdrawal. When the ballot was repeated the same result ensued. In spite of the opposition

of their lieutenants, the two weary principals decided to toss. This took place in front of the Earlsfort Terrace building, where the count had been taken. Ryan won and was declared elected.

The first term of his auditorship was marked by a series of political debates on the grand scale with such men as Mr. Seán Lemass, General Mulcahy, and Mr. T. F. O'Higgins appearing as guest speakers or as visiting chairmen. This gave a considerable fillip to the discussion of all the old, well-worn topics in public debate. On a couple of occasions Ulick O'Connor's practical joking led to the suspension of a meeting in its early stages. Finally one of his pranks misfired. He had gone into a meeting dressed as a woman, and had handcuffed himself to one of the benches. The chairman was riled, and said so in unmeasured terms before declaring an adjournment.

Early in his year Ryan introduced membership cards. One of these was given to each member on payment of his annual subscription and it was necessary to produce it in order to gain admission to private business. This was done for two reasons, to exclude non-students and as a means of prodding the tardy student into an early disbursement of his half-crown. Ryan was much criticised at the time for breach of tradition, but it must be admitted that the criticism was badly founded. On certain occasions he ruled that the list of speakers for public debate be closed before the end of private business. Such action was always attacked as being a breach of tradition, but it was often necessary. Until a couple of years ago a member was required to make two speeches in order to qualify for voting at the annual election, and it was often necessary to guard against a late influx of the backers of aspiring candidates which could turn the debate into a farce and perhaps antagonize the chairman. The obligation to speak in debate as a condition precedent to voting at the annual election was first introduced in 1933, following the allegations of widespread packing of voters in the Meenan-Dunne contest of the previous year. At first one speech only was required, and this was the rule until 1948. In that year a special sub-committee was appointed to revise the Constitution, and on its recommendation the

relevant provision was altered to require two speeches. I understand that within the past couple of years the Society has reverted to the pre-1933 system.

The inaugural meeting was held at the end of January. Dr. Tierney presided and the speakers were An Taoiseach, Mr. John Costello, Mr. Seán Lemass, Mr. Richard O'Sullivan, K.C., and Senator W. Stanford. The Auditor's address dealt with the influence of the Universities in politics. Some weeks later an inter-debate was held with representatives of University College, Galway; University College, Cork; Trinity College and Queen's University, Belfast. The annual dinner, which had been neglected since pre-war years, was successfully revived early in the Trinity term and was well supported by the ex-members. Very appropriately it was held in Newman House where the Society used to meet until quite recent times.

The annual election was contested by four candidates, D. Ryan (who was returned), E. Gearty, D. Sheridan and D. Mulligan. It engaged the same parties as in the previous year, but those who had supported Richard Ryan were now divided between Sheridan and Gearty and the consequences were clearly to be foreseen well in advance of polling day.

It was a quiet year but the ordinary business of the Society went on smoothly. All the favourite chairmen made their annual appearance and there were one or two not so familiar figures such as Fr. Burke-Savage, S.J., and Mr. Jack Beattie, M.P. There was a good number of new recruits to the active service lists both in private and in public business.

Outstanding debates were those on partition with Mr. Beattie as chairman, and on the Budget of 1952 with Dr. O'Donovan presiding and Mr. T. F. O'Higgins and Major Vivion de Valera as guest speakers. The inaugural was held in May when Mr. Erskine Childers, Dr. Browne, Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh (then Attorney General), and Dr. John O'Donovan were on the platform. The address dealt with the social and economic future of Ireland. The election was unexciting by comparison with those of the two previous years, Dermot Sheridan winning by a comfortable margin from Michael Duggan.

It used to be the practice to have papers read by members throughout the session. These essays used to deal with literary, biographical or historical matters and the theatre too was a favourite subject. For the period dealt with here I can remember only one paper. It was a paper on industrial development read in the Society in 1951 by Senator Edward Maguire. The chairman expressed the hope that the reading of papers by the students themselves would be revived as a feature of the Society's business. It is regrettable that no attempt has been made to effect the revival.

Debates on strictly parliamentary lines have been tried twice in O'Kelly's year and again under Ryan. On each occasion a bill dealing with student affairs was drawn up and a question paper prepared. These attempts were not very successful perhaps because the number of speakers was too great.

So much for general business, but it is the private business of the Society which engages most of the students' attention. It is in private business that all college enmities, personal or factional, and all College 'scandals' are most effectively promenade by means of motions of censure, motions for adjournment, sham privileged motions of congratulation or sympathy and such-like devices. The names which spring most easily to mind are those of Philip Curran, James Sorahan, Ulick O'Connor, Enda Gearty and James Cawley. The latter excelled in ponderous Colonel Blimp rhetoric; Gearty burlesqued the intellectual communist. Ulick O'Connor made some fine performances in the Val Vousden style but his best effort was perhaps a representation in dumb show of a draper's assistant trying to sell a pair of nylons to an awkward customer. Sorahan devoted himself almost exclusively to heckling and showed a tireless penetrating wit which he never used unfairly. Curran's taste was for puns and parodies which he contrived with baffling facility. He and Gearty were also the two best impromptu speakers of the period. Besides these and others already mentioned, there were such people as Bill Kingston, Donal Barrington, Hugh Charlton, Ronan Brocklesby, Patrick Kilroy, Fionnbar Callanan, Ronan Keane, Gerard O'Sullivan,

Paul Callan and Edward Comyn. They were not invariably serious, nor is this an exhaustive list of participants, but it was from them that points of order, objections and votes of censure most regularly came. From time to time there were good impromptu debates in private business on such topics as the Seretse Khama question, the Health Act, trials of war criminals and that old chestnut: *That Modern Woman has failed to justify her Emancipation.*

This is not a complete record. Those who wish for more details will find them in the minutes and the annual reports. Recent history can be a highly explosive thing and to attempt a too close narration of it satisfies nobody.

VI.—MICHEÁL Ò RÍAIN

A COMMENT ON THE RECENT SESSIONS of the Literary and Historical night, at first sight, appear something of an intruder amongst the reminiscences of past generations of students; and yet, if only for the sake of the completeness of this volume, a case can be made for its inclusion. The L. & H. today is customarily a noisy, boisterous, good-humoured institution, which equally can have its quiet and formal moments. Its principal activities are the discussion of topical subjects and the even more preoccupying one of keeping its own house in order.

Yet, behind the façade of the crowded Physics Theatre, the cries and counter-cries, the auditorial pronouncements, the suspension of members, the points of order, the inconclusive debates, there goes on an important process: the education of the student to value and understand his colleagues, be their opinions similar or dissimilar to his own. The views and prejudices which he has brought fresh and untried from home or school will be rationalised and reorientated. He will learn those important arts, oratory, argument, and filibustering, if not through direct participation in the debates, then by observation of the weekly exhibitions of forensic skill. These are fair words for describing the desultory and frequently

futile conversations on which under-graduates thrive; and young men in College intercourse, as in the L. & H., can often constitute a seemingly irrational and boisterous mob. This boisterousness is, of course, not alone inevitable but desirable. Without it universities would be changed and rather dull places. The occasional excesses, although regrettable, are only to be expected, for at no period have mobs, not even university mobs, been gifted with the knowledge of how not to go too far. In general, of course, the L. & H. crowd has an innate sense of courtesy; the maiden speaker is handled with considerably greater patience than the more experienced mumbler. And even though appeals may have to be made to the more irate members of the audience to restrain themselves, the speaker with the unpopular viewpoint will receive a reasonable hearing.

In writing of recent sessions, there is the difficulty that to refer to particular persons is attended by the risk that the names omitted may be those which future readers, aware of subsequent fame attached to them, might expect to find mentioned. After ten or fifteen years it should be possible to make fairly accurate guesses as to which of the members of the Society in a certain period will gain public distinction; but in the present, or immediate past, practically everyone who appears at the rostrum is a possible candidate for renown.

The first of the four sessions to be discussed in this contribution was a successful and particularly exciting one, characterised by lively opposition to the able administration of the Auditor, Dermot Ryan. His election campaign had been fought against Dermot Sheridan and Enda Gearty, both lawyers, and Desmond Mulligan, who was the first of four successive auditors of the Commerce Society to seek the L. & H. crown unsuccessfully. Private motions remind one of the news items of that period. They included votes of congratulation to persons such as Captain Carlsen, for his gallantry in staying on the crippled *Flying Enterprise* as tugs attempted to tow it into port, and to King Farouk on the birth of an heir to the Egyptian throne. Another resolution suggested that application be made to the trustees of Mrs. Shaw's bequest for funds to be used to teach manners to the students of U.C.D.

Readers will recall that this was the period of the great Health Services controversy, and shortly after his resignation from the Government, Dr. Noel Browne presided at a packed and tense meeting on the motion: *That a comprehensive Health Service without a Means Test is essential in the Modern State*. Despite the fact that the proverbial excess of heat over light was generated, it was undoubtedly the outstanding debate of the session. Before a vote was taken, Dr. Browne made a tremendously effective speech, which pleased the sympathetic, and infuriated the unsympathetic, members of the audience. On being put to the house, the motion was carried by a reasonable majority.

Dermot Ryan was succeeded by Diarmuid Sheridan, whose opponent was Michael Duggan, the Commerce candidate. The year was marked by stability and a comparative lack of controversy. However, the minutes, written by Ronan Keane and various other persons, are now missing. It may be a poor consolation to the scribes, but at least it is the one missing minute book about whose whereabouts there can be no dispute. The same book which recorded the passing of the motion: *That this House disapproves of Cynical Denunciations of An Tóstal*, now lies on the bed of Anna Liffey with the Tóstal flame. A party of engineers were responsible for the incident. They had removed it from the meeting-place one Saturday night. In the course of their wanderings they rested on O'Connell Bridge, placing their burden on the parapet of the bridge, whence it plunged to its present watery grave.

In Sheridan's year the hardworking administration had to their credit four inter-debates, one with some Indian students on a tour of European universities, and others with American and Canadian teams; and the fourth inter-debate, possibly the most memorable night of the session, was held with delegates from all the Irish and some British universities participating. The year was thus international in flavour, and a remarkable achievement was the holding of the inaugural meeting in the first term. Practically the same people were to the fore as in the previous year, and they included Gearóid and Maurice O'Sullivan, Charles Doyle, James Cawley, Thomas Owens, B. Ó Gadhra,

John Buckley, Paul Callan, and Seán Cooney. Among those who came much to the public note during this session were two very popular speakers, Liam McCollum and Liam Shanahan. McCollum's speeches were a little too good, however, and ensured that he would not have the support of the 'conservative' element of the Society in the subsequent auditorial election.

He and John Lowe lost the election for the auditorship in the next session, 1953-54, to Gerard Sheehy, the man who claimed to have brought the engineers back into the Society after a rather long absence.

The session will, I think, be remembered principally for two outstanding meetings, one serious and the other farcical. Every seat was occupied, every inch of floorspace was availed of, by the crowds which overflowed into the corridors at the now annual Partition debate, which in that year was presided over by ex-President W. T. Cosgrave, with Mr. McSparran, Q.C., M.P., once a committee-member of the Society, and Mr. McConnell, M.P., as guest speakers. The emergence of a statesman after a long retirement to speak on a controversial subject would interest most people; but to the students, Mr. Cosgrave's appearance among them meant something more. To them he was almost a part of history: they had heard his name and something of his deeds, but very few of them would have heard him speak or have been conscious of public affairs while Mr. Cosgrave was in the political limelight. It was not curiosity alone that excited them. The applause the chairman received when he arrived, and the unprecedented way in which the audience spontaneously rose to its feet at the end of his address to give him a really tremendous ovation, indicated something more than mere curiosity and showed a courtesy of which many might have thought the L. & H. incapable.

The farcical meeting was that at which the guests were Mr. Patrick Kavanagh, fresh from the trial of his libel action against the *Leader* in the High Court, and Mr. Brian O'Nolan, over whose deliberations on the subject of Irish newspapers it was Mr. Peadar O'Curry's lot to preside. It was with a combination of curiosity and confidence that the proceedings would be far from dull that the students flocked to the meeting. They

were not disappointed. The guests strongly disapproved of one another's remarks, to the great amusement of the audience, and those present will long remember Liam McCollum's welcome to the guests, delivered from a bench in the middle of the theatre, because the crowds were too great to permit his descent to the rostrum.

The auditorship for the centenary session was decided after an appropriately hard-fought election between two old school-mates and economics students, Vincent Kelly and Micheál Ó Riain, in which the present writer was the victor. Under the new electoral system the number of voters had swollen to two hundred and fifty, and polling day saw the most motorised election to date, with several cars scouring the city and suburbs all day in an effort to get supporters to the poll. One voter was collected from Athlone while another travelled from Belfast, only to arrive as the Returning Office announced polling-time over. Despite a minor riot, the Returning Officer could not be persuaded that the clock had been at fault. Readers will note that we still take our elections very seriously.

After the departure of G. Sheehy, there were still a few engineers left in the Society, including two prominent speakers and committee men, Henry Kennedy and Vincent O'Doherty. Also to the fore in the centenary year was Joe McArdle, no longer the *enfant terrible* of the Society, a position he had relinquished to Michael Williams. The Secretary, John Buckley, in his report at the end of the session, remarked that the year had been a success, but that this had been 'assured in the nature of things'.

We were hosts to delegates from other universities at three inter-debates and on the first of these occasions the L. & H. proved its worth when its team won the trophy for debate in the first All-Ireland Debating Tournament which was sponsored by the Irish Students' Association, under the general scheme organised by *The Observer*. In all, thirteen teams of two members each participated in the competition. Semi-finals were held in Galway, Cork and Belfast. At the final in University College, Dublin, the President of Maynooth, Monsignor Kissane, presided: the judges were Senator George O'Brien, Mr. P. J.

Little, Mr. Gabriel Fallon and Mr. Kenneth Harris of *The Observer*. It was appropriate that the L. & H. should win the first competition of this kind and doubly appropriate that it should do so in its centenary year. The next move in the competition in which all British and Irish universities engaged was the final at Liverpool in which the L. & H. team were narrowly defeated by the Glasgow speakers. Joe McArdle, however, spoke finely throughout.

One of the current weaknesses of the Society is the tendency of the members to demand a prominent personage for all weekly meetings, and the long list of distinguished guest speakers, while it will increase the chances of capacity attendances, can at the same time harm the Society by causing it to be forgotten that its primary function is to provide the students with a common speaking ground, rather than to provide the public figure with a platform. If the students are not sufficient unto themselves to have good meetings, then there is a weakness in the L. & H., and this problem is giving concern to those close to the Society. The same question worried Herbert Morrah in regard to the Oxford Union when he wrote his centenary history of the Union in 1923. It is, probably, a perennial problem for which there can be no completely satisfactory solution.

Readers will have gathered from these pages the type of subject discussed at our meetings. They vary from the mundane: *That the G.A.A. is losing everything except Money* (1951), to the philosophical: *That we are living in the Twilight of Tolerance* (1952), or: *That this House prefers the Solitude of the Ivory Tower to the Dust of the Arena* (1953). Again we have the cynical: *That Ireland is being Ruled and Ruined by Old Men* (1955) or *That every Bachelor over Forty is a Scoundrel* (1952); then in a different vein: *That Irish Conservatism is of Clerical Origin* (1955). There are usually a few debates on international problems, on questions concerning education, and the arts. Agricultural policy, social legislation, trade unionism, and whatever is the most burning current political topic, can also be put in the class of hardy annuals.

We can be sure that few of these subjects would have been

discussed during the first years of the Society, and yet, despite that fact, we can feel some affinity with the few dozen students who attended its first meetings in a College so different from ours. The list of Auditors grows longer, the past members more numerous, but in passing years one thing is preserved unchanged—the youth of the L. & H. Its problems, now as always, are the problems of youth; only its traditions are old.

In this connection it may be said that the centenary session will be remembered for the fact that the long cherished project of producing a history of the Society was undertaken. It was apparent that if the book was ever to be published, it should be begun on the occasion of the centenary. After an initial period of doubt and hesitation, we realised that the work could and would be done. In the last analysis, the publication of the book would depend on the realisation in financial terms of the assets of goodwill which we knew the Society possessed. The present volume is evidence of the strength of those assets.

Today, as the L. & H. begins its second century, there are some fifty rival organisations competing for the interest of the student body. Saturday nights, which for generations were considered the preserve of the Society, now see 1/6d. canned celluloid entertainment in the *Aula Maxima*. Nevertheless the Society is still the premier student organisation. The present generation of students are proud of their association with the Society; from a knowledge of its past they derive a pride in ancestry and, should they be concerned about the future, its history should give them confidence in posterity.



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THE CONTRIBUTORS have described the Society and the spirit in which its proceedings are conducted. They cover all the aspects of its life; auditors and committee-men, the constitutional opposition, the uncommitted audience, and the mob. They provide a scrap-book of the Society at various stages of its career. Sometimes, as in family albums, the photograph may seem a little posed; at other times, something resembling a skeleton may be discerned peeping out of a cupboard in the background. At any time the Society is largely what each member chooses to make of it; and not the least interesting feature of the preceding pages is the variety of recollections set down by the contributors. There are some points in these recollections that may be touched on by way of conclusion.

They are summed up in a judgment of the Society that was made fifty years ago by Augustine Birrell, not the least percipient of Irish Chief Secretaries *a very democratic assembly, by no means very docile, and obviously not humble.* Assuredly, it is democratic. The Society is still the meeting-place for all students of University College. It is not necessarily the place where the greatest wit or the highest eloquence can be found; it is not necessarily the place where affairs are most thoroughly discussed. Nevertheless, it is the only Society that almost everybody attends sooner or later. Other societies cater for specialized studies; the L. & H. provides the field for debate on those matters on which everybody has an opinion or wishes to form one. Its audience therefore is more representative of the student body than any other society can claim to be. In the last resort, also, it is that mixed and varied audience that judges merit. The Society is still, as it was forty or eighty years ago, the place where character and talent are tested. Success there is greater than success in more limited bodies; failure there cannot be wholly redeemed elsewhere. It depends on the judgment of

the House rather than on the favour of chairmen or auditors. For those who speak in its private business and debates, therefore, the L. & H. provides opportunities, risks and rewards that are not encountered elsewhere in College. The stakes are higher in the Society than elsewhere; and they are enhanced by carefully tended traditions and appeals to the deeds of other times and generations.

By no means very docile . . . the Society draws its attendance from a College in which there are almost four thousand students. Here is at once its strength and its weakness. Meeting-places are often noisy. There are patches in the history of the L. & H. which seem, on the dubious evidence of the minutes, to have approached formality, but no student society can ever easily acquire that quality, least of all in a country where it has been vaguely suspect for so long. Even fifty years ago, in a period now held up to the admiration of the young, the Society was lively. If it comes to that, inaugural meetings then seem to have been much less decorous than the sedate performances of today. The degeneration of the Society is perhaps, like so many other things, only a matter of dates.

Certainly, it is a far cry from Egyptian hieroglyphics to some of the experiments that have occupied private business in later decades. The fact is that the L. & H. must always be something more than a debating society. It has to supply the lack of all the places wherein, in older or richer foundations, students might meet. In its own way it is discharging some of the functions of collegiate life. It is the market-place of the College; and one may imagine that there was more to the Forum than oratory.

From time to time the Society has attempted to develop a corporate existence and to furnish itself with reading-rooms and other amenities. One of the comparatively few things that we know about Augustus Bethell is that he made some such suggestions to Newman. In the circumstances of the time, it is not surprising that nothing was done. Nearly fifty years later, in 1904, John E. Kennedy raised the matter again in the *National Student*, again without result. The proposal was revived ten or twelve years ago with no greater success.

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For a great part of its existence, no doubt, the Society could combine the functions of debating society and meeting-place without too much difficulty. No insoluble problem arose as long as the number of students was comparatively small. But the growth from just over five hundred students in 1909 to fifteen hundred in 1929 and to not far below four thousand nowadays is bound to leave its mark on a society whose proceedings are governed by its accommodation. It is indeed surprising that the effects have not been greater than they have been. The membership of the Society is not appreciably larger than it was fifty years ago. There are obvious exceptions to that general rule, but the expansion of the roll that marked some auditorial elections was followed by equally violent contractions. In 1912, there were 175 voters; in 1913, there were 209; two years later, there were 16. But it is at the meetings of the Society that the change is most evident. To many, the most surprising statement in this centenary record may be that made in the third sentence of the article contributed by the President of the High Court. The idea that the door of the Old Physics Theatre might have been shut while a meeting was in progress will come as a shock to many. Nevertheless, attendances of thirty to forty are recorded as satisfactory in the minutes of the first decade of this century. Times have changed. The abandonment of the Old Physics is still regretted but ultimately it was inevitable; and it is interesting, even if it will be astonishing to many, to note that the New Physics Theatre has begun to acquire the lustre of tradition. It is indeed in many ways a thoroughly unsatisfactory place of meeting; but it is the only one available. The problem of accommodation, with its inevitable and sometimes displeasing results, is the same for the Society as it is for the College.

And obviously not humble . . . The Society has the advantage of an antiquity that is unparalleled by any other society in the College, or for the matter of that by the College itself. Its length of years compares favourably with similar societies in much more ancient foundations. Certainly, it cannot claim an unbroken existence since its establishment by Newman but the gaps have served only to emphasize its essential continuity.

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After each break, it reverted to its former name and linked itself with what went before. It did so when there was a change of Rector; it did so even when a new College and a new University were superimposed on the old. So it acted under Dr. Woodlock in the 1860's and in the first days of the Jesuit College twenty years later. When it was revived in the 1890's after almost seven years' lapse, its first care was to re-establish the succession, to use the same rules and minute-books, to ignore the break. At all times, it has remembered its descent from Newman; in the earliest days of the present College it insisted on the link with what went before; and it paid homage to the Cardinal's memory long before the present fashion of doing so arose.

It should always be borne in mind that the Society depends on a delicate balance of forces if it is to function successfully. It is a much more complicated organisation than the visitor might realise after a first astonished glance around the Physics Theatre. Many people must play their part. For all the air of omnipotence that each Auditor assumes, the amount that he can do of his own to guarantee success to his year is severely limited. Much depends on the quality of the speakers whom he has inherited from previous years; and in private business he must rely on the opposition to show sport. This calls for a knowledge of tradition on both sides of the committee-table; the Society has rarely been more happy than when it discusses the merits and relevance of precedents and auditorial rulings. The Auditor must also be able to handle the mob; the years in which he has been unsuccessful have been bad years for the Society. He must assemble a respectable (but also interesting) platform to pronounce on a decorous inaugural address. There remains the essential business of encouraging first-year speakers, those nervous aspirants to fame and honours who sit agonizing on the upper benches, listening to their carefully prepared points being developed by hardier speakers to a chairman whose interest is obviously on the wane. A lot is demanded of an Auditor's alertness and tact.

The visiting chairman cannot guarantee success by his own efforts, though he can do much to create the atmosphere of the debate. Feelings on this matter must be personal; but

it is hardly too much to say that chairmen like Arthur Clery or Albert Wood seemed to typify the best qualities and draw out the highest possibilities of the House. No one is better able to make a debate than a past member or an experienced visitor, just as the worst possible thing that can be done is to throw an inexperienced chairman, a transient and too easily embarrassed phantom, into the arena. It will be regrettable if the practice of inviting guest speakers and specialized chairmen is developed so far as to weaken the links between the Society and its old friends and past members. To those who have taken the chair at its meetings the Society owes a debt of gratitude which is better realised than the hasty speeches in an almost empty hall might suggest.

Again, the type of motion set down for debate has affected the standard of speaking and the style of oratory. We have come a long way from the formal motions in which comparisons of Caesar with Napoleon were fashionable; too long a way, perhaps. There may be something to be said for the motion that imposes an obligation to prepare a speech without reference to the leaders in daily papers or articles in the weeklies. The practice of asking speakers to change sides so that the discussion might be balanced has the advantage of sharpening the mind and providing a test of debating ability. Debating opinions, like divisions on motions, should not be taken too seriously.

Lastly, there is the mob; that body which is so much older than many realise. It is too often dismissed as a noisy and graceless irrelevance. It can be so. It can be worse still, when it is badly handled by an inexperienced chairman; but in such cases the fault may lie with the Auditor for inviting such a chairman to preside when the attendance of the mob is to be expected. The third term is the season for bleeding chairmen, not the first. In fact, the mob has a useful and vital part to play. It can be the destroyer of platitudes and long-windedness, qualities which should be rooted out of the Society, though they may be (and usually are) tolerated in a first-year speaker who has still his way to make. There have been times when it may not listen to good speakers; they have been few; and, when they occur, there must be something wrong with the direction of the Society. The

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mob has one further role to play, which it shares with that part of the House that comes to listen rather than to speak or heckle. It is a rough-and-ready judge of fair play among the magnificoes on either side of the committee table. Its judgment is as good a test of character as can be found in the Society. It also presents a challenge to each Auditor which he cannot evade.

When all these things fall right together, everything is well and the Society prospers. When they do not, it falls on evil days and its reputation suffers. There is a lot to its successful working. The L. & H., as has been said, is more than a debating society. As such, it can be a great deal better than most others or very much worse.

'Nothing more is required from any member' wrote Henry Bethell just a hundred years ago 'than a courageous determination to think for himself; to express his ideas as well as he is able; and to listen with interest to the opinions and thoughts of others, submitted to his criticism.' It is a lot to ask, but the challenge has not been evaded. Speakers do try to think for themselves, and it is not necessarily a bad thing if they do not think exactly as their elders would wish: they must express themselves well or they will not be allowed to express themselves for long; and if there is one thing of which each generation can boast, it is the sense of fair play that is never lacking from any meeting of the Society. Unpopular opinions receive a hearing that is often more generous than any other audience would accord. Tolerance and good-humour are attributes that any society might be proud to claim; and their preservation has become a tradition in a Society that has seen so many changes of fashion in political and social thought and may well experience so many more in its second century. *Fluctuat nec mergitur.*

Appendix 1.

LIST OF OFFICERS, INAUGURAL ADDRESSES AND SPEAKERS

PRESIDENTS

- 1862 W. K. SULLIVAN.
1864 THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR WOODLOCK.
1882 THE REVEREND JOHN EGAN.
1883 THE REVEREND WILLIAM DELANY, S. J.
1888 THE REVEREND ROBERT CARBERY, S. J.
1897 THE REVEREND WILLIAM DELANY, S. J.
1909 DENIS J. COFFEY.
1940 ARTHUR CONWAY.
1947 MICHAEL TIERNEY.

Note.—The President of University College is *ex officio* President of the Society.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

- 1885 THE REVEREND THOMAS A. FINLAY, S. J., *ex-Auditor*, d. 1940.
1907 MICHAEL FRANCIS COX, *ex-Auditor*, d. 1926.
1907 THE MOST REVEREND PATRICK O'DONNELL, Bishop of Raphoe, d. 1927.
1910 THE REVEREND WILLIAM DELANY, S. J., d. 1924.
1921 THE MOST REVEREND MICHAEL FOGARTY, Bishop of Killaloe, d. 1955.
1921 EAMON DE VALERA.
1926 WILLIAM MAGENNIS, *ex-Auditor*, d. 1946.
1930 WILLIAM DILLON, *as Senior ex-Auditor*, d. 1935.
1935 JOHN FRANCIS O'CARROLL, *as Senior ex-Auditor*, d. 1942.
1940 DENIS J. COFFEY, d. 1945.
1942 PATRICK MCGILLIGAN, *ex-Auditor*.
1946 SIR CHARLES GRIFFIN, *as Senior ex-Auditor*.
1946 JOHN CHARLES FLOOD, *ex-Auditor*.
1947 ROBERT DUDLEY EDWARDS, *ex-Auditor*.
1947 SEAN MACBRIDE.
1952 GEORGE O'BRIEN.
1952 THE EARL OF WICKLOW.
1953 VINCENT GROGAN, *ex-Auditor*.
1955 JAMES MEENAN, *ex-Auditor*.

Note.—Before 1897 Vice-Presidents were elected from year to year. These elections are not recorded here with the exception of that of Father Finlay, who was re-elected annually.

PRESIDENTS AND AUDITORS, COMMITTEES, INAUGURAL ADDRESSES AND SPEAKERS

1855-1856 * * * * *

1856-1857 HENRY SLINGSBY BETHELL.
James L. Molloy, *Vice-President*; John Mulholland, *Secretary*;
M. le Vicomte Louis de Vaulchier; Augustus Bethell; Edward
Maxwell.
Taste and Genius. Professor Hayden; Professor Cryan.

APPENDIX I

- 1857-1858 AUGUSTUS PHILIP BETHELL.
- 1858-1859 HUGH HYACINTH MACDERMOT.
Mr. Molyneux, *Secretary*.
- 1859-1860 RICHARD FENNELLY.
John Cunningham, *Vice-President*.
- 1860-1861 * * * * *
H. A. Lowther, *Vice-President*.
- 1861-1862 PHILIP FARRELLY.
Mr. Ryan, *Vice-President*; John Roche, *Secretary*.
- 1862-1863 JOHN KEAN.
John Butler, *Secretary*.
- 1863-1864 JOHN BUTLER.
- 1864-1865 MORGAN BUTLER KAVANAGH.
James Ryan, *Secretary*.
The Scope and Pretensions of the Society. Professor Ellis; Mr. Connolly—A. M. Sullivan; Mr. Dawson.
- 1865-1866 ROBERT WOGAN MACDONNELL.
Charles Dawson, *Secretary*; P. J. O'Connor, *Treasurer*; M. B. Kavanagh; Michael O'Hanlon, D. A. O'Sullivan; E. L. Hogan. *Civilisation in Ancient and Modern Ireland*. The Reverend Dean O'Connell; Edward Fottrell—Professor Kavanagh; Professor McSwiney.
- 1866-1867 PATRICK JOSEPH O'CONNOR.
E. L. Hogan, *Secretary*.
The Meaning of Culture and Education. Serjeant Armstrong, Q.C.; John O'Hagan, Q.C.—David Sherlock, Q.C.; Professor McSwiney.
- 1867-1868 CHARLES DAWSON.
Eustace J. F. Barron, *Secretary*; J. Curtayne, *Asst. Secretary*; H. I. D'Arcy, *Treasurer*.
Toleration. His Eminence Paul Cardinal Cullen; The Lord Mayor, W. L. Joynt—Sir Henry Barron, Bart., M.P.; John O'Hagan, Q.C.
- 1868-1869 N. J. GOSSAN.
William Dillon, *Secretary*; H. I. D'Arcy, *Treasurer*; C. Dawson; P. J. O'Connor; R. W. MacDonnell; E. Hogan.
Oratory. Sir Henry Barron, Bart., M.P.; Sir John Gray, M.P.—Serjeant Barry, M.P.; John O'Hagan, Q.C.
- 1869-1870 WILLIAM DILLON.
F. Gallagher, *Secretary*; J. P. Barber, *Correspondence Secretary*; John Dillon, *Treasurer*; C. Dawson; Mr. Halpin; Mr. McCarthy. *Lessons from the Middle Ages*. Jonathan Pim, M.P.; Isaac Butt—David Sherlock, Q.C., M.P.; John O'Hagan, Q.C.
- 1870-1871 GEORGE FOTTRELL.
M. F. Cox, *Secretary*; William Atkinson, *Asst. Secretary*; Edward McCormack, *Treasurer*; J. P. Barber; F. Gallagher; J.H. O'Doherty. *The Formation of Individual Character*. Sir Patrick O'Brien; Serjeant Sherlock, Q.C., M.P.—Isaac Butt; Jonathan Pim, M.P.

APPENDIX I

- 1871-1872 MICHAEL CHARLES AUGHNEY. (*Died in office, March 1872*).
John F. Shanahan, *Secretary*; J. Davis, *Asst. Secretary*; William Atkinson, *Treasurer*; M. O'Meara; J. E. Fottrell; G. O'Connor. *Philosophy*. Jonathan Pim, M.P.; R. O'Shaughnessy, B.L.—W. K. Sullivan; George Fottrell.
- 1872-1873 MICHAEL FRANCIS COX.
P. M. Gallagher, *Secretary*; M. O'Meara, *Treasurer*; J. P. McAllister; J. P. Barber; J. E. Fottrell; J. D. Collier.
The History of Ireland. Major O'Reilly, M.P.; Serjeant Sherlock, Q.C., M.P.—Isaac Butt, M.P.; W. K. Sullivan.
- 1873-1874 MICHAEL O'MEARA.
J. F. O'Carroll, *Secretary*; G. F. Griffin, *Treasurer*.
The Social Faults of Modern Life. The Reverend Thomas Burke, O.P.; G. Fottrell—John Martin, M.P.; Surgeon W. H. O'Leary.
- 1874-1875 JOHN DILLON.
Gerald Griffin, *Secretary*.
The Utility of Debating Clubs and Societies such as the Present. John O'Hagan, Q.C.; G. Fottrell—A. M. Sullivan; C. Dawson.
- 1875-1876 GERALD GRIFFIN.
M. Duff, *Secretary*.
The Importance of Literature. Isaac Butt, M.P.; H. H. MacDermot—Patrick Martin, M.P.; John Dillon.
- 1876-1877 JOHN FRANCIS O'CARROLL.
H. J. Dillon, *Secretary*.
A Native Irish Literature. The Lord Mayor, Sir G. B. Owens, M.D.; John O'Hagan, Q.C.—Isaac Butt, M.P.; Maurice Brooks, M.P.
- 1877-1878 MICHAEL DUFF.
Charles McCarthy, *Treasurer*.
- 1878-1879 IGNATIUS O'BRIEN.
John J. Hayden, *Secretary*.
The Purpose of University Education. The Lord Mayor, Hugh Tarpey; Professor Ornsby—Rev. Professor Samuel Haughton, F.T.C.D.; Maurice Brooks, M.P.
- 1879-1880 * * * * *
J. D. McFeeley, *Secretary*.
- 1880-1881 J. D. MCFEELEY.
T. J. Byrne, *Secretary*.
On the Choice of a Profession. Professor Ornsby; John Hayden—Professor Sigerson; Professor O'Looney.
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- 1882-1883 JOSEPH MCGRATH elected unopposed, in February 1883.
M. J. Ryan, *Secretary*; J. Nolan; C. Byrne; D. Croly; W. Wrafter; J. E. Gannon; B. J. Colleran; Mr. Crean; Mr. Moriarty; Mr. Mooney.

APPENDIX I

- 1883-1884 THE REVEREND THOMAS A. FINLAY, S. J.
W. P. Coyne; R. Donovan, *Secretaries*; J. W. S. Ledwith, *Treasurer*;
Rev. D. Murphy, S. J.; C. Quinn; Hugh McNeill; D. G. Peart;
W. Raleigh.
The Relations of the Proposed Work of the Society to the University.
C. Quinn; E. Young.
- 1884-1885 ROBERT DONOVAN, elected by a majority.
J. W. S. Ledwith, J. J. Farrell, *Secretaries*; W. P. Coyne, *Treasurer*;
H. C. McWeeney; E. J. Downing; E. Young; H. A. McNeill;
J. V. Duggan.
The Irish Genius in Literature. The Most Reverend Dr. Donnelly,
Bishop of Canea; Charles Dawson, M.P.—The Lord Mayor,
William Meagher, M.P.; George Fottrell.
- 1885-1886 EDMUND YOUNG elected against J. J. Farrell. Messrs. W. Magennis,
E. J. Downing, P. Lynch and C. Clinton were also nominated but
withdrew during the poll.
P. J. Lennox; E. J. Downing; W. P. Coyne; R. Donovan; J. J.
Farrell; J. W. S. Ledwith; J. V. Duggan; W. Magennis; Rev.
P. S. Dinneen, S. J.; J. W. Bacon.
The Labour Question. The Lord Mayor, John O'Connor, M.P.;
Thomas Sexton, M.P.—E. Dwyer Gray, M.P.; Charles Dawson, M.P.
- 1886-1887 JOSEPH J. FARRELL.
P. J. Lennox; James P. Gaffney; Rev. J. Darlington, S. J.; J. F. W.
Howley; L. Nolan; J. W. S. Ledwith; J. V. Duggan; D. J. Coffey;
C. Clinton.
The Influence of a Free Ireland. The Lord Mayor, T. D. Sullivan,
M.P.; T. Sexton, M.P.—The Right Reverend Monsignor Molloy;
John Dillon, M.P.
- 1887-1888 PATRICK LENNOX elected by twenty-five votes to five for J. F. W.
Howley.
L. Nolan, *Secretary*; Rev. J. Darlington, S. J., *Treasurer*; J. F. W.
Howley; C. Clinton; R. Donovan; J. Carlos; J. J. Healy; J. V.
Muldoon; J. L. Keane.
The Victorian Era in Ireland. Michael Davitt; W. A. MacDonald,
M.P.—C. H. Oldham; R. Donovan.
- 1888-1889 WILLIAM MAGENNIS elected by twenty-one votes to fifteen for
J. F. W. Howley.
James P. Gaffney, *Secretary*; L. Nolan, *Treasurer*; R. Donovan;
J. J. Farrell; P. Lennox; C. Clinton; J. F. W. Howley.
Irish Democracy. The Reverend Doctor J. P. Mahaffy, F.T.C.D.;
John Dillon, M.P.—Charles Dawson; C. H. Oldham.
- 1889-1890 JOHN F. W. HOWLEY elected unopposed.
George Peyton; J. D. Daly; C. Lyne; Rev. R. Curtis, S. J.; T. C.
Cummins; D. Kelly; W. Magennis.
Prussian Education. R. Adams, Q.C.; Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J.—
T. A. Dickson, M.P.; E. Dwyer Gray.
- 1890-1891 LUKE NOLAN elected unopposed.
A. Sullivan, *Secretary*; Rev. J. Darlington, S. J., *Treasurer*; G.
Ebrill; M. Crean; W. O'Leary Curtis; J. F. W. Howley.

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APPENDIX I

- 1897-1898 CHARLES GRIFFIN elected unopposed but did not take office. FRANCIS SKEFFINGTON elected by a majority of one vote over James Fitzgerald-Kenney. W. P. Coyne, *Secretary*; E. R. Kavanagh, *Treasurer*; H. A. McNeill; H. L. Barry; A. E. Clery; W. Nunan. *Realism in Fiction*. Walter Callan; Hugh Kennedy; A. E. Clery; Rev. J. Darlington, s. j; W. P. Coyne.
- 1898-1899 THOMAS M. KETTLE. W. P. Coyne, *Senior Secretary*; A. E. Clery, *Junior Secretary*; F. J. C. Skeffington, *Treasurer*; R. Sheehy; L. J. Walsh. *The Celtic Revival*. Father George O'Neill, s. j.; Mr. Dowling—Father Edmund Hogan, s. j.; Mr. McSweeney.
- 1899-1900 ARTHUR E. CLERY. W. P. Coyne, *Senior Secretary*; Hugh Kennedy, *Junior Secretary*; Louis Walsh, *Treasurer*; F. J. C. Skeffington; J. Clandillon; C. J. McGarry; James A. Joyce; A. Farrelly. *Irish Genius in English Prose*. John Dillon, M.P.; Judge Adams—Reverend Doctor Hickey; M. MacD. Bodkin, Q.C.
- 1900-1901 HUGH KENNEDY elected by fifteen votes to nine for James Joyce. A. E. Clery, *Senior Secretary*; T. M. Kettle, *Junior Secretary*; J. M. O'Sullivan, *Treasurer*; J. Clandillon; J. A. Joyce; L. Walsh; P. Harrison; T. F. Breen. *The Irish University Question*. W. J. M. Starkie; T. M. Healy, Q.C., M.P.—M. Drummond, Q.C.; T. Harrington, M.P.
- 1901-1902 ROBERT KINAHAN elected by a majority over William Dawson. H. Kennedy, *Senior Secretary*; W. G. Fallon, *Junior Secretary*; James Dowling, *Treasurer*; A. E. Clery; James Murnaghan; J. M. O'Sullivan; W. Dawson; P. R. Morris. *The Social Problem*. J. G. Swift MacNeill, K.C., M.P.; William Field, M.P.—J. F. Taylor, K.C.; Hugh Law.
- 1902-1903 WILLIAM DAWSON. W. G. Fallon, *Senior Secretary*; J. V. Clarke, *Junior Secretary*; J. P. Doyle, *Treasurer*; Michael Dawson; R. Boyd; H. McCarthy; John E. Kennedy. *Problems of Progress*. The Hon. William Gibson; R. R. Cherry, K.C.—W. P. Coyne; Charles O'Connor, K.C.
- 1903-1904 JOHN P. DOYLE elected by eighteen votes to six for William Fallon. J. V. Clarke, *Senior Secretary*; John E. Kennedy, *Junior Secretary*; Richard Boyd, *Treasurer*; W. G. Fallon; F. E. Hackett; James Murnaghan; William Dawson. *The Idea of a University*. The Bishop of Limerick, the Most Reverend Doctor O'Dwyer; Captain John Shawe-Taylor—T. P. Gill; Judge Adams.
- 1904-1905 RICHARD SHEEHY elected by a majority over John Kennedy. Gerald O'Byrne; Eugene Sheehy; J. V. Clarke; J. E. Kennedy; Thomas Madden; F. E. Hackett; W. G. Fallon. *National Ideals and Conciliation*. John Dillon, M.P.; W. O'Reilly, D.L.—T. W. Russell, M.P.; M. McInerney, K.C.

APPENDIX I

- 1905-1906 THOMAS F. BACON elected by thirty-six votes to eighteen for John Kennedy.
F. Cruise O'Brien; J. E. Kennedy; G. O'Byrne; R. Sheehy; J. V. Clarke; P. J. Little; E. Sheehy.
Higher Education and National Life. Sir Christopher Nixon; M. McD. Bodkin, K.C.—T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P.; T. F. Molony, K.C.
- 1906-1907 FRANCIS CRUISE O'BRIEN elected by a majority over Gerald O'Byrne.
Aedan Cox; M. F. Healy; G. O'Byrne; T. A. Mangan; P. J. Little; T. Bodkin; T. F. Bacon.
Democracy and Education. Arthur Griffith; William McGrath, K.C.—Lindsay Crawford; Edward Little.
- 1907-1908 MAURICE HEALY elected by thirty-six votes to twenty-eight for Thomas Bodkin.
M. McGilligan; J. R. Duggan; J. J. Doyle; T. Bodkin; J. J. O'Connell; Aedan Cox; Rev. William Keane, S.J.
The Irish Exodus. The Bishop of Raphoe, Most Reverend Doctor O'Donnell; The Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, M.P.—T. W. Russell, M.P.; A. E. Clery.
- 1908-1909 THOMAS BODKIN elected unopposed.
J. R. Duggan; G. Maguire; M. J. Dwyer; M. McGilligan; J. J. O'Connell; M. Healy; J. J. Nolan.
Concerning Home Rule. The Attorney-General, R. R. Cherry, K.C., M.P.; T. F. Molony, K.C.—J. G. Swift MacNeill, K.C., M.P.; James O'Connor, K.C.
- 1909-1910 MICHAEL MCGILLIGAN elected by forty-four votes to twenty-one for James J. Doyle.
J. R. Duggan; C. A. Maguire; M. Davitt; P. McGilligan; G. Maguire; M. J. Dwyer; J. J. Doyle.
- 1910-1911 MICHAEL DAVITT elected by twenty-three votes to twenty for Patrick McGilligan.
J. A. Ronayne; M. Dixon; J. J. Molloy; P. McGilligan; C. A. Maguire; J. J. O'Connell; G. Maguire.
The Rise of the Irish Movement. The Bishop of Raphoe, the Most Reverend Doctor O'Donnell; John Dillon, M.P.—Canon Arthur Ryan; M. F. Cox.
- 1911-1912 *John A. Ronayne eighty-three votes; Patrick McGilligan eighty votes.*
JOHN A. RONAYNE (until February).
T. J. Costello; J. A. Costello; M. J. Ryan; A. C. J. Cox; C. A. Maguire; Miss A. Deane; J. B. Magennis.
The Dawn on the Hills of Ireland. John Dillon, M.P.; P. Lynch, K.C.—T. W. Russell, M.P.; Very Reverend Doctor Butler, O.C.C.
PATRICK MCGILLIGAN (from February).
Committee as before.
- 1912-1913 ARTHUR COX elected by one hundred and twelve votes to sixty-three for John A. Costello.
M. J. Ryan; George O'Brien; J. B. Magennis; J. A. Costello; A. D. Courtney; C. A. Maguire; Miss Mary Arkins.
The University and the Nation. The Lord Mayor, Lorcan Sherlock; The Attorney-General, Ignatius O'Brien, K.C.—Professor E. Culverwell, F.T.C.D.; Reverend Professor Corcoran, S.J.

APPENDIX I

- 1913-1914 MICHAEL J. RYAN elected by one hundred and thirteen votes to forty-four for John A. Costello, forty-two for C. A. Maguire and ten for J. B. Magennis.
J. R. MacDonnell; P. J. Nolan; J. Swayne; C. Davitt; R. J. MacDonnell; Miss Norah Stuart; George O'Brien.
The Healing Power of Freedom. John Dillon, M.P.; Captain J. R. White, D.S.O.—Professor T. M. Kettle; The Reverend William Crawford.
- 1914-1915 JAMES R. MACDONNELL elected unopposed; resigned in March. C. P. Lavery; M. Binchy; Miss Norah Stuart; W. Maguire; Miss May Hogan; F. J. MacCabe; J. A. Meagher.
- 1915-1916 JAMES G. O'CONNOR elected by ten votes to six for Joseph Mooney. J. J. Mooney; H. G. McGrath; Miss May Hogan; M. Binchy; J. R. McSparran; E. J. Keenan; Miss Eileen Harnett.
- 1916-1917 JOSEPH MOONEY elected by twenty-two votes to fifteen for R. D. F. Johnson.
H. G. McGrath; H. Briscoe; J. Hurley; Miss May Hogan; J. Mullett; T. W. T. Dillon; T. A. McLaughlin.
- 1917-1918 H. GARRETT MCGRATH.
T. F. Aird; J. J. McColgan; R. McKernan; J. Skehan; J. R. Ryan; J. V. Lavery; P. O'Connor.
- 1918-1919 THOMAS F. AIRD.
D. A. Binchy; D. F. Gleeson; J. V. Lavery; Leo T. McCauley; James Hogan; Osmund Grattan Esmonde; R. Davitt.
- 1919-1920 DANIEL BINCHY elected by a majority over T. G. O'Sullivan. D. Murphy; N. MacNeill; J. J. Farrell; G. P. S. Hogan; J. J. McColgan; Osmund Grattan Esmonde; T. G. Burke.
- 1920-1921 JOHN FARRELL elected by a majority over Thomas J. Coyne. A. R. J. Dungan; J. G. Long; James Dillon; R. Gardiner; D. H. Travers; James Skehan; Seán MacBride.
- 1921-1922 JAMES SKEHAN elected by a majority over James Dillon. A. O'Donovan; J. G. Long; R. Gardiner; Miss Mollie Finnegan.
- 1922-1923 DAVID H. TRAVERS elected unopposed.
Miss Anna Boland; Miss Alice White; Miss Kathleen O'Donnell; The O'Rahilly; William Chinnasing.
- 1923-1924 JOHN CHARLES FLOOD elected by a majority over John G. Long. James Ennis; The O'Rahilly; Brian Dillon; Joseph McGilligan; John Hooper; Miss Kathleen O'Donnell; Miss Alice White.
The Economics of the Average Man. Patrick Lynch, K.C.; Thomas Johnson, T.D.—Professor William Magennis, T.D.; Senator H. L. Barniville.
- 1924-1925 BERNARD J. M. MACKENNA elected unopposed.
Anthony J. Malone; Donal Flood; Louis Roche; Frederick W. Moorhead; Miss Celia Shaw; John Belton; J. C. Flood.

APPENDIX I

- 1925-1926 ANTHONY J. MALONE elected by a majority of one vote over F. W. Moorhead. The Auditor resigned in November and was succeeded by
RICHARD KEVIN BOYLAN elected unopposed.
John Hooper; Louis Roche; B. J. M. MacKenna; Miss Kitty O'Connor; Eugene O'Reilly; P. F. Donovan; Miss Evelyn Brophy.
- 1926-1927 PATRICK BYRNE elected by a majority over John Hooper and Tadhg Forbes.
William Binchy; George Murnaghan; John D. Ryan; John Belton; R. J. Carolan; J. McCambridge; W. S. Lawlor.
- 1927-1928 JOHN J. NASH elected by twenty-one votes to fourteen for John Hooper.
Miss Florence Lynch; R. Dudley Edwards; John O'Donovan; P. F. Donovan; W. F. Binchy; R. J. Carolan; Miss Ursula White. *Culture and Competence*. The Chief Justice, the Hon. Hugh Kennedy; The Reverend Aubrey Gwynn, s.j.—Professor Mary Hayden; Cecil Lavery, s.c.
- 1928-1929 THOMAS A. O'ROURKE elected by twenty-eight votes to twenty-five for William Binchy.
William P. Fay; Richard Swaine; Michael Harrington; Denis Devlin; P. F. Donovan; R. Dudley Edwards; Michael Farrell. *Idealism in Literature and in Life*. Professor Arthur Clery; The Minister for Justice, James Fitzgerald-Kenney, s.c., t.d.—The Hon. Mr. Justice Meredith; Doctor Thomas Bodkin.
- 1929-1930 WILLIAM BINCHY elected unopposed. The Auditor resigned in October and was succeeded by
THOMAS A. O'ROURKE elected a second time, unopposed. The Auditor resigned in November and was succeeded by
ROBERT DUDLEY EDWARDS elected unopposed.
James Meenan; Cearbhall O Dálaigh; John Kent; Miss Patricia Browner; Roger McHugh; John T. Troddyn; Vincent Molony. *The Irish Catholics and the Penal Laws*. The Reverend Patrick Gannon, s.j.; Sir Joseph Glynn; Daniel Corkery—The Chief Justice, the Hon. Hugh Kennedy; Doctor W. F. T. Butler.
- 1930-1931 *John Kent declared elected by a majority over Charles Starkey. Election successfully petitioned; new election ordered.*
JOHN KENT elected by a majority over Charles Starkey and Patrick Cannon.
Michael Duignan; Dermot M. F. Walsh; Miss Máirín MacDermott; D. O'Riordan; V. de Valera; T. A. Lynch.
Ireland in the Europe of the Future. The Reverend Professor T. Corcoran, s.j.; J. B. Morton—The Chief Justice, the Hon. Hugh Kennedy; Professor Robert Donovan.
- 1931-1932 CEARBHALL O DALAIGH elected by sixty-four votes to nineteen for Dermot M. F. Walsh.
T. A. Lynch; D. L. Ua Donnchadha; R. P. Dunne; Cyril Cusack; Miss Una O'Dwyer; James Gallagher.
Public Spirit. Professor Douglas Hyde; Madame Maud Gonne MacBride—Senator Sir John Keane; Professor Eoin MacNeill.

APPENDIX I

- 1932-1933** *R. P. Dunne* declared elected by one hundred and five votes to fifty-six for *James Meenan*, fourteen for *Dermot Hanly* and nine for *Thomas A. Lynch*. Election successfully petitioned; new election ordered.
JAMES MEENAN elected unopposed.
J. A. Waters; *T. F. Murray*; *G. S. Cox*; *E. C. Fitzgibbon*; *A. J. O'Dwyer*; *J. T. Troddyn*.
Economic Planning. The Attorney-General, *C. A. Maguire, s.c., t.d.*; *Patrick McGilligan, t.d.*—Senator *Thomas Johnson*; Professor *D. A. Binchy*.
- 1933-1934** *VIVION DE VALERA* elected by forty-two votes to twelve for *Brian O'Nolan*.
M. J. Moran; *J. A. Waters*; *Miss Una Kehily*; *T. C. Murray*; *James Kent*; *L. Delany*; *Miss M. MacHale*.
Pride: the Vice of Modern Times. The Very Reverend Doctor *J. C. McQuaid*; Professor *R. Donovan*—Professor *William Magennis*; Dr. *J. C. Flood*.
- 1934-1935** *RICHARD COOKE* elected by thirty-two votes to twenty-two for *A. J. O'Dwyer*.
V. de Valera; *Denis Collins*; *Michael Henaghan*; *M. Russell*; *M. Gavaghan*; *M. Walsh*; *Miss M. Murray*.
The Restoration of Industry. The President of the Executive Council, *Eamon de Valera, t.d.*; *John P. Colbert*—*P. McGilligan, t.d.*; *Rory Henderson*.
- 1935-1936** *DESMOND BELL* elected by twenty-four votes to twelve for *Seamus O Conaill*.
James D. B. O'Toole; *James Troy*; *John Ryan*; *Miss Ní Cearbhall*; *Miss Ní Seaghdha*; *James Sheehan*; *Niall Brunicardi*.
Principles of Freedom. *W. T. Cosgrave, t.d.*; *James Geoghegan, t.d.*—*Luke Duffy*; Professor *D. A. Binchy*.
- 1936-1937** *VINCENT GROGAN* elected by thirty-six votes to twelve for *Seamus O Conaill*.
Donagh MacDonagh; *P. N. Meenan*; *Kevin O'Doherty*; *Miss M. Bell*; *P. B. McCarthy*; *D. V. Cousins*; *Ruadhraí O h-Aodha*.
The Future of the State. *Frank MacDermot, t.d.*; *J. A. McCarthy, s.c.*—Senator *Thomas Johnson*; The Reverend *Patrick Gannon, s. j.*
- 1937-1938** *RICHARD WALSH* elected by a majority over *Maurice Walsh* and *Niall Brunicardi*.
D. MacDonagh; *F. Monaghan*; *D. V. Cousins*; *Miss Blánaid Dillon*; *Michael Egan*; *P. B. McCarthy*; *Seán Collins*.
The Future of Rural Ireland. The Minister for Agriculture. Dr. *James Ryan, t.d.*; *James Dillon, t.d.*—The Reverend Father *Hayes*; *James Meenan*.
- 1938-1939** *THOMAS F. O'HIGGINS* elected by thirty votes to twenty for *James D. B. O'Toole*.
Patrick Lynch; *Irial Gogan*; *T. P. O Siaghail*; *Seán Collins*; *Kevin Gallagher*; *Daniel O'Brien*; *John O'Connor*.
Nationalism in Ireland. An Taoiseach, *Eamon de Valera, t.d.*; Professor *Michael Tierney*—General *Richard Mulcahy, t.d.*; *Tadhg Mac Fírbisigh*.

APPENDIX I

- 1939-1940 TOMAS P. O SIAGHAIL elected by a majority over R. O h-Aodha. Irial Gogan; Kevin Gallagher; Frank Monaghan; Patrick Nolan; Miss Elizabeth Mulcahy; Seán D. Connolly; James Murray. *Some Social Tendencies in Modern Europe*. The Bishop of Galway, the Most Reverend Doctor Browne; The Hon. Mr. Justice Meredith—Senator Frank MacDermot.
- 1940-1941 PATRICK N. MEENAN elected by thirty-six votes to thirty-one for Ruadhraí Roberts. Martin Sheridan; John MacDermott; Kevin Gallagher; Miss Elizabeth Mulcahy; Miss Denise Murphy; Liam Cosgrave; James Murray. *The Future of the Professions*. Sir Walter Langdon-Browne; Cecil Lavery, s.c.—Dr. J. C. Flood; Professor Pierce Purcell.
- 1941-1942 FRANK ROE elected by fifty votes to nineteen for Sean D. Connolly. John E. McCarthy; Joseph MacHale; William D. Finlay; Miss Fionnuala McCann; Miss Nessa Brugha; J. O'Donoghue; F. O. Meenan. *The Future of Ireland*. The Minister for Local Government, Seán MacEntee, t.d.; William Norton, t.d.—James Dillon, t.d.; Basil McGuckin, s.c.
- 1942-1943 FRANCIS O. MEENAN elected by forty-five votes to nineteen for Eamonn Kennedy and seven for John E. McCarthy. Richard Cremins; Alex. Hinkson; John McGartoll; Miss E. Ryan; Miss N. Early; Miss P. Walsh; Charles Fitzsimons; Francis Counihan. *Social Planning*. General Richard Mulcahy, t.d.; Senator Robert Rowlette—The Reverend J. E. Canavan, s. j.; Dr. John Mowbray.
- 1943-1944 RICHARD CREMINS elected unopposed but did not take office. PETER R. HOGGIN elected by nineteen votes to thirteen for Andrew Phelan. Ivar Boden; E. M. Walsh; Miss Maureen Madden; Miss N. Reidy; Miss M. Kerrigan; Miss V. Browne; Mairtín McCullough; Frank Martin. *Ireland in Post-War Europe*. The Minister for Industry and Commerce, Seán Lemass, t.d.; James Dillon, t.d.—Professor W. K. Hancock; Professor R. Dudley Edwards.
- 1944-1945 WALTER TREANOR elected by a majority over Francis Counihan. Miss Kathleen Morris; D. Donovan; Nessan McCann; B. Nolan; F. X. Rooney; Kevin Burke. *Ulster Was Right*. T. J. Campbell, k.c., m.p.; Dr. Patrick McCartan—The Rt. Hon. Sir J. Milne Barbour; Professor P. McGilligan, t.d.
- 1945-1946 EAMONN WALSH elected by thirty-nine votes to thirteen for Niall McCarthy. Oliver MacDonagh; Anthony Cronin; P. Casey; Miss Nuala Gogan; Miss J. Carroll; F. X. Rooney; W. Kingston; Seán McGaley; D. R. Waldron. *Idealism in Politics*. Count Michael de le Bedoyere; Donal O'Sullivan—Erskine Childers, t.d.; Doctor J. C. Flood.
- 1946-1947 FRANK MARTIN elected by a majority over Anthony Cronin. James Sorahan; Rory O'Hanlon; Liam Duff; G. Martin; Brendan Nolan; Miss Diana O'Gorman-Quinn; Miss Stephanie Power.

APPENDIX I

- 1947-1948** KEVIN BURKE elected by thirty-six votes to twenty-three for James Sorahan.
F. X. Rooney; W. V. Kingston; Patrick J. Connolly; Miss Maureen Duffy; Miss Marie Shortiss; Patrick Ryan; P. Curran; J. Barry Hanly; G. Latchford.
The University and the World. C. O Dálaigh, s.c.; Professor R. Dudley Edwards—Dr. W. J. Treanor; E. M. Walsh.
- 1948-1949** PATRICK J. O'KELLY elected unopposed.
Owen McGuinness; E. J. Little; Donal K. O'Donovan; Miss Karin O'Sullivan; Miss Susan Boyle; R. Jones; Patrick Lavelle; Desmond Fennell; Miss Sheila Coakley.
Quicksands of Peace. The Minister for External Affairs, Seán MacBride, T.D.; Colonel Crosthwaite Eyre, M.P.—Senor Salvador de Madariaga; Senator Denis Ireland.
- 1949-1950** PATRICK J. CONNOLLY elected by sixteen votes to fifteen for W. V. Kingston, M. McDevitt and James Sorahan having been previously eliminated.
Charles Doyle; Miss Mary Gavin; Miss Karin O'Sullivan; Miss Deirdre O'Donovan; Ronan Brocklesby; D. O Sioradáin; Miss Susan Boyle.
- 1950-1951** *R. Ryan tied with Michael McDevitt, Gerard Sheehy having been eliminated. In a second election, G. Sheehy having withdrawn, R. Ryan and M. McDevitt tied for a second time. Election decided by the toss of a coin.*
RICHARD RYAN.
Gerard O'Sullivan; Enda Gearty; D. O Sioradáin; Fionnbar Callanan; Michael Feehan; Edward Keelan; John Maloney.
Few and Many. An Taoiseach, John A. Costello, s.c., T.D.; Richard O'Sullivan, K.C.;—Sean Lemass, T.D.; Senator Professor W. B. Stanford, F.T.C.D.
- 1951-1952** DERMOT RYAN elected by thirty-three votes to twenty-six for Diarmuid O Sioradáin, Desmond Mulligan and Enda Gearty having been previously eliminated.
Miss L. Barron; D. Kinlan; Paul Callan; J. O'Sullivan; N. Fanning; Seán Cooney; Miss M. Maguire; Miss M. Carroll; V. O'Donovan.
The Price of Progress. Doctor Noel Browne, T.D.; Erskine Childers, T.D.—The Attorney-General, Cearbhall O Dálaigh; John O'Donovan.
- 1952-1953** DIARMUID O SIORADAIN elected by thirty-two votes to thirteen for Michael Duggan.
Ronan Keane; John Buckley; Paul Callan; Miss M. Callanan; Miss M. O'Connell; Miss L. Barron; Laurence Whelan.
The Graduate and the State. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Government, Jack Lynch, T.D.; M. P. Linehan—Seán MacBride, T.D.; Senator Professor Stanford, F.T.C.D.
- 1953-1954** GERARD SHEEHY elected by thirty-nine votes to seventeen for John Lowe and eight for Liam McCollum.
James Cawley; J. Ardle McArdle; D. Harnett; Miss Máire Ní Caoimh; Miss Ena Ryan; Henry Kennedy; John O'Sullivan.
Co-operation for the Rural Areas. An Tánaiste, Seán Lemass, T.D.; Doctor Henry Kennedy—Lieut.-General M. J. Costello; P. F. Quinlan.

APPENDIX I

- 1954-1955 MICHEAL O RIAIN elected by one hundred and forty-three votes to fifty-seven for Vincent F. Kelly.
J. Ardle McArdle; Henry Kennedy; Vincent O'Doherty; John Buckley; Martin Rafferty; Sean Cooney; Desmond P. H. Windle. *A Century of Youth*. The Chief Justice, the Hon. Conor Maguire; The Minister for Agriculture, James Dillon, T.D.—The Attorney-General, Patrick McGilligan, S.C., T.D.; The Hon. Mr. Justice Lavery.
- 1955-1956 HENRY KENNEDY elected unopposed.
M. Williams; J. O'Donohue; Brian Keane; T. Garvey; W. Kenny; O. Moylan; C. Daly.
Emigration—Our Responsibility. The Minister for Local Government, Patrick O'Donnell, T.D.; Seán Lemass, T.D.—Lieut.-General M. Costello; Rev. Father Counihan, S.J.
- 1956-1957 DESMOND P. H. WINDLE elected by thirty-one votes to twenty-four for Vincent O'Doherty.
John Cashman; M. O'Shaughnessy; Franklin O'Sullivan; Michael Davern; Miss Rosemary Fennell; O. G. Agbin.

Notes

1. The attribution of Richard Fennelly to the session 1859-1860 is tentative.
2. The change of title from 'President' to 'Auditor' was made in 1862.
3. The Society was known as 'The Historical and Literary Society' from 1862 to 1864 and as 'The Union Society' in 1882-1883.
4. In the sessions 1885-1887 and in each session from 1904-1905 the first three members of the committee named are the Record Secretary, the Correspondence Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.
5. The committee given in each session is the first committee, which was elected until 1932 and since that date has been nominated by the incoming Auditor.
6. Since 1933 the auditorial election has been conducted by the single transferable vote.
7. The speakers at Inaugurals are set out as the proposer and seconder of the first resolution, followed by the proposer and seconder of the second resolution.

Appendix II.

LIST OF MEDAL AND OTHER AWARDS

	ORATORY	COMPOSITION
1858-1859	H. H. MacDermot.	Richard Fennelly.
1859-1860	John Cunningham.	Michael J. O'Brien.
1860-1861	Thomas F. O'Donnell.	Philip Farrelly.
1862-1863	John Butler. John Keane.	
1866-1867	Charles Dawson. Patrick J. O'Connor.	Patrick J. O'Connor. R. W. MacDonnell.
1867-1868	Patrick J. O'Connor. H. I. D'Arcy.	
1868-1869	William Dillon. George Fottrell.	
1869-1870	J. P. Barber. George Fottrell.	M. F. Cox. J. P. Barber.
1870-1871	N. J. Gossan. J. P. McAllister.	M. C. Aughney. G. O'Connor.
1871-1872	M. F. Cox. M. O'Meara.	J. P. McAllister. P. Gallagher.
1872-1873	William Hartigan.	M. O'Meara.
1873-1874	Gerald Griffin. J. F. O'Carroll.	H. J. Dillon.
1874-1875	H. J. Dillon.	Patrick O'Donnell.
1875-1876	Innocent Ryan.	Ignatius O'Brien.
1877-1878	Michael Duff.	J. B. Kane.
1885-1886	J. J. Farrell; William Magennis; P. J. Lennox.	
1886-1887	J. F. W. Howley; L. Nolan; William Magennis.	

APPENDIX II

GOLD	SILVER	IMPROMPTU	FIRST-YEAR SPEAKERS
1898-1899 L. J. Walsh.	F. J. C. Skeffington.		
1899-1900 A. E. Clery.	T. M. Kettle.		
1900-1901 W. Dawson.	H. Kennedy.		
1901-1902 R. Kinahan.	{ M. Waldron. J. P. Doyle.		
1902-1903 J. M. O'Sullivan.	J. Murnaghan.		
1903-1904 E. Sheehy.	J. E. Kennedy.		
1904-1905 F. C. O'Brien.	T. F. Bacon.		
1905-1906 G. O'Byrne.	P. J. Little.		
1906-1907 M. Healy.	T. Bodkin.		
1907-1908 T. Bodkin.	M. McGilligan.		
1908-1909 M. McGilligan.	J. J. Molloy.		
1909-1910 M. Davitt.	J. A. Ronayne.		
1910-1911 P. McGilligan.	Arthur Cox.		
1911-1912 Arthur Cox.	C. A. Maguire.		
1912-1913 M. J. Ryan.	G. O'Brien.	M. J. Ryan	
1913-1914 J. R. MacDonnell.	T. Fitzpatrick.	J. R. MacDonnell.	
1914-1915 C. Lavery.	J. A. Meagher.	C. Lavery. J. J. Mooney.	H. G. McGrath.
1915-1916 J. A. Meagher.	Eimar O'Duffy.	J. A. Meagher.	T. W. T. Dillon.

APPENDIX II

PRESIDENT'S MEDAL FOR ORATORY	SOCIETY'S MEDAL FOR ORATORY	IMPROMPTU MEDAL	FIRST-YEAR MEDAL
1916-1917 L. T. McCauley. H. G. McGrath.	J. J. Mooney.	P. O'Connor.	L. T. McCauley.
1917-1918 John M. Dillon.	J. P. Dowling.	H. G. McGrath. F. Aird.	T. O'Sullivan.
1918-1919 J. F. Skehan.			
1919-1920 D. A. Binchy.	T. J. Coyne. J. Dillon.	J. Lavery.	J. Dillon.
1920-1921 J. Dillon.	J. G. Long.		J. G. Long.
1921-1922 J. Mowbray.	C. Quinlan.		J. Mowbray.
1922-1923 D. H. Travers.	M. B. Roche J. C. Flood.	D. H. Travers.	W. Chinnasing.
1923-1924 J. C. Flood.	B.J.M. MacKenna.	J. C. Flood.	B. J. M. MacKenna.
1924-1925 B.J.M. MacKenna.	T. MacFirbisigh.	R. K. Boylan.	J. J. Nash.
1925-1926 R. K. Boylan.	J. J. Hooper.	P. Byrne.	P. Byrne.
1926-1927 P. Byrne.	D. A. Hegarty.	J. J. Nash.	T. Foley.
1927-1928 J. J. Nash.	M. Farrell.	B. O Brolcháin. T. A. O'Rourke.	W. P. Fay.
1928-1929 T. A. O'Rourke.	W. P. Fay.	W. P. Fay.	E. C. Fitzgibbon.
1929-1930 R. W. D. Edwards.	C. O Dálaigh.	R. W. D. Edwards.	S. F. X. Murray.
1930-1931 J. Kent. D. M. Walsh.	M. Duignan.	C. O Dálaigh.	K. Keary.

APPENDIX II

	GOLD MEDAL FOR ORATORY	SILVER MEDAL FOR ORATORY	IMPROMPTU MEDAL	FIRST-YEAR MEDAL	LADIES' MEDAL
1931-1932	C. O Dálaigh.	R. P. Dunne.	B. O'Nolan.	J. Kent.	R. Drumgoole.
1932-1933	V. de Valera.	E. C. Fitzgibbon.	D. E. Bell.	J. B. Lynch.	Elizabeth Kettle.
1933-1934	S. O Conaill.	R. N. Cooke.	R. N. Cooke.	V. Grogan.	Maire MacHale.
1934-1935	J. D. B. O'Toole.	D. E. Bell.	Miss Margt. O'Toole.	J. D. B. O'Toole.	Margaret O'Toole.
1935-1936	M. Walsh.	V. Grogan.	J. D. B. O'Toole.	J. E. McCarthy.	Maire O'Carroll.
1936-1937	F. Murphy.	S. Collins.	R. Roberts.	S. Collins.	Blánaid Dillon.
1937-1938	T. F. O'Higgins.	T. P. O Siaghail.	P. Purcell.	M. A. Vaughan.	N.A.
1938-1939	R. O h-Aodha.	P. K. Lynch.	R. O h-Aodha.	J. McKeown.	Sheila O'Toole.
	P. Purcell.				
1939-1940	R. Roberts.	T. F. Roe.	P. K. Lynch.	Miss Nessa Brughá.	M. Brennan.
				M. Geoghegan.	Fionnuala McCann.
1940-1941	T. F. Roe.	S. D. Connolly.	T. F. Roe.	W. Treanor.	N.A.
1941-1942	F. Counihan.	P. Casey.	W. Treanor.	F. Counihan.	Maureen Madden.
1942-1943	W. Treanor.	C. Fitzsimons.	E. L. Kennedy.	E. M. Walsh.	Mary Ronayne.
1943-1944	E. M. Walsh.	C. McAnally.	E. M. Walsh.	C. McAnally.	Nuala Gogan.
1944-1945	I. K. Lynch.	Miss Mary Ronayne.	I. Boden.	J. Cooney.	Jocelyn Carroll.
1945-1946	Rory O'Hanlon.	A. Cronin.	Miss Jocelyn Carroll.	W. V. Kingston.	N.A.
1946-1947	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	Susan Boyle.
1947-1948	F. X. Rooney.	P. J. Connolly.	J. Sorahan.	Miss Sylvia Sheil.	Sylvia Sheil.
1948-1949	P. J. Connolly.	W. V. Kingston.	P. Curran.	D. O Sioradáin.	
1949-1950	Miss Sylvia Sheil.	D. Barrington.	N.A.	Paul Callan.	
1950-1951	J. B. Hanly.	E. Gearty.	E. Gearty.	G. B. McCarthy.	
1951-1952	J. C. O'Sullivan.	P. Kilroy.	L. Shanahan.	V. O'Donovan.	
1952-1953	C. Doyle.	B. O'Connor.	M. O'Sullivan.	V. O'Doherty.	
1953-1954	G. O Cléirigh.	J. Cawley.	O. G. Agbin.	N.A.	
1954-1955	V. O'Doherty.	J. McArdle.	R. Hussey.	T. Broderick.	
1955-1956	M. McSweeney.	F. O'Sullivan.	D. P. Windle.	P. Nugent.	

APPENDIX II

Notes

1. All awards have been listed that are known from the minute-books, reports of inaugural meetings, etc., 'N.A.'—No award.
2. In several years between 1858 and 1878 gold and silver medals were awarded for Oratory and for Composition. Awards of certificates for Oratory were made in 1885-1886 and in 1886-1887.
3. The medal for impromptu debate was originally presented by Professor T. M. Kettle, and the Ladies' medal (which was discontinued in 1949-1950) by Mr. Vincent Kelly.
4. Since the session 1931-1932, the Auditor has been ineligible for an award.
5. In 1905-1906, the Gold Medal for Oratory was won by the Reverend Mr. W. Keane, s. j., who declined the award. In 1909-1910, the highest marks for the Silver Medal for Oratory were won by Mr. J. J. Molloy, who was ineligible to receive the Medal, having previously won it.
6. Essay prizes were won as follows: 1907-1908, Michael McGilligan; 1910-1911, Arthur Cox; 1911-1912, Miss E. Deane.

Appendix III.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

These notes are based on the standard works of reference, professional registers and journals, University records and personal knowledge. They are designed to provide a convenient, though summary, reference to the subsequent careers of those, now deceased, who are mentioned in the text and appendices. It has not, unfortunately, been possible to make these notes comprehensive, and any information which will supplement them will be most welcome.

- ADAMS, Richard. b. Cork, 1846; ed. Queen's College, Cork. Journalist. Called 1873; silk, 1889. County Court Judge, Limerick, from 1894. d. 1908.
- AIRD, Thomas Francis (Frank). b. Maryborough 1897; ed. Blackrock. B.A. 1919. d. Adelaide 1923.
- D'ALBE, Edmund Edward Fournier. b. London 1868. Author, physicist and worker in the Gaelic League. d. 1933.
- ARKINS, Thomas. b. Clare 1888; ed. Clongowes. Initiated movement for Students' Representative Council. d. 1913. The Arkins Medal in Irish History was presented by his friends to perpetuate his memory.
- ARMSTRONG, Richard. b. Armagh 1815. Called 1839, went Leinster circuit; silk 1854. Serjeant 1861. M.P. (Liberal) for Sligo 1865-1868. d. 1880.
- ARNOLD, Thomas. b. Laleham 1823, son of Dr. Arnold; ed. Winchester, Rugby, University College, Oxford. Received into Church 1856. Professor of English Literature 1856-1862; returned to England, later resumed in Catholic University. F.R.U.I. 1882. d. 1900.
- ASHBOURNE, Baron.—See GIBSON, The Hon. William.
- ASQUITH, Herbert Henry. b. 1852. Liberal statesman. Chancellor of the Exchequer 1905-08. Prime Minister of Liberal Government 1908-15, of Coalition Government 1915-16. Cr. Earl Asquith and Oxford 1925. d. 1928.
- AUGHNEY, Michael Charles. b. Bagnalstown 1850. Medical student. d. 1872.
- BACON, John William. b. 1867; ed. Tullabeg. F.R.U.I. and Professor of English Literature 1901-09. Secretary and Bursar from 1909. d. 1939.
- BALFOUR, Arthur James. b. 1848. Leader of Unionist Party. Chief Secretary for Ireland 1887-91; Prime Minister 1902-05; Leader of the Opposition 1905-11. Cr. Earl Balfour 1922. d. 1930.
- BALFOUR, Gerald William, brother of foregoing. b. 1853. Chief Secretary for Ireland 1895-1900. Succ. as second Earl Balfour 1930. d. 1945.
- BARNEWALL, Sir Reginald. b. 1838; succ. posthumously as tenth baronet. d. 1910.
- BARRON, Sir Henry Winston. b. Ballymeel 1792; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. M.P. for Waterford 1832-47, 1848-52, 1865-68, 1869-70. High Sheriff of Waterford 1857. d. 1872.

APPENDIX III

- BARRY, Charles Robert.** b. Limerick 1824; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1845, went Munster Circuit; silk 1859. Conducted investigations preceding Fenian trials in 1865. Serjeant 1866. Solicitor-General 1868-70, Attorney-General 1870-71. Judge of Queen's Bench Division 1871-83, of Court of Appeal from 1883. d. 1897.
- BARRY, Kevin Gerard.** b. Rathvilly 1902; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines, and Belvedere. Second-year medical student. Took part in ambush of British forces in Dublin, was captured, courtmartialled, sentenced to death and executed 1920.
- BETHELL, Augustus Philip** (more properly Augustus Howard). b. London 1838; ed. Ushaw and, after studies in Dublin, at English College, Rome. Ordained, probably by Dr. Ullathorne at Oratory, Birmingham, 1863. Ministered in England. Canon 1887. d. London 1912.
- BETHELL, Henry Slingsby,** brother of foregoing. b. London 1836; ed. Eton, Oscott, Ushaw. With his father, brother and sisters was received into the Church by Father Faber, 1850. Worked in his father's engineering business, later lived abroad. d. Rome 1908.
- BETHELL, Richard,** Baron Westbury, uncle of foregoing. b. 1800. Called English Bar, 1823; silk 1840. Solicitor-General 1852-1853; Attorney-General 1856-1858, 1859-1861. Lord Chancellor 1861-1865. Cr. Baron Westbury 1861. d. 1873.
- BIGGAR, Joseph Gillis.** b. Belfast 1828. M.P. (Nationalist) for Cavan from 1874. d. 1890.
- BIRRELL, Augustine.** b. 1850. Essayist and Liberal statesman. Chief Secretary for Ireland 1907-1916. Introduced Irish Universities Act 1908. d. 1933.
- BODKIN, Matthias McDonnell.** b. 1850; ed. Tullabeg. Author. M.P. (Nationalist) North Roscommon 1892-1895. Called 1877; silk 1894. County Court Judge, Clare, 1907-1924. d. 1933.
- BRABAZON, Reginald,** Earl of Meath. b. London 1841; ed. Eton. Succ. as twelfth Earl 1887. Chancellor of Royal University 1902-1906. d. 1929.
- BROWNE, Reverend Father Henry, s. j.** b. Birkenhead 1853; ed. King Edwards' High School, Birmingham, and New College, Oxford. Received into Church 1874; entered novitiate of Irish Province of Society 1877. F.R.U.I. and Professor of Classics 1890-1909, of Greek 1909-1923. Edited (1930) *A Page of Irish History*. d. 1941.
- BUCKLEY, Máirín.** (Mrs. Tommy Connolly), B.Sc. 1926. d. 1942.
- BURKE, Reverend Father Thomas Nicholas,** o.p. b. Galway 1830; ed. San Clemente, Rome, of which he was later Prior. Preacher and lecturer. d. 1883.
- BUTLER, William F. T.** b. 1861. Antiquarian and historian. Professor of Modern Languages, Queen's College, Cork, 1895-1909, Registrar 1906-1909. Assistant Commissioner, Intermediate Education Board, from 1910. d. 1930.
- BUTT, Isaac.** b. Stranorlar 1813; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Professor of Political Economy there, 1836-1841. Called 1838; silk 1844. M.P. for Harwich 1852, Youghal 1852-1865, Limerick from 1871. Founder of Home Government Association and later of Home Rule League. d. 1879.
- CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Sir Henry.** Liberal statesman. b. 1836. Prime Minister from 1905. d. 1908.
- CARBERRY, Reverend Father Robert, s. j.** b. Youghal 1829; ed. Clongowes, Trinity College, Dublin, and Maynooth. Entered novitiate 1854. President of University College 1888-1897. d. 1903.

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- CARROLL**, John Donal (Don). b. Dundalk 1890; ed. Clongowes. Volunteered European War, served Royal Army Medical Corps, awarded Military Cross. Later served Medical Corps, National Army. Medical Officer, Cork City, from 1927. d. 1928.
- CASSIDY**, Louis. b. Enniskillen 1874; ed. Castleknock. M.B. (Edinburgh). Volunteered European War, served R.A.M.C. Master of the Coombe from 1921. d. 1928.
- CHERRY**, Richard Robert. b. Waterford 1859; ed. Trinity College, Dublin; called 1881; silk 1896. M.P. (Liberal) Exchange, Liverpool 1906-1909. Attorney-General 1906-1909; Lord Justice of Appeal 1909-1914; Lord Chief Justice 1914-1916. d. 1923.
- CLANCY**, George. b. 1880. ed. Mungret, Clongowes; later a teacher. Mayor of Limerick 1921, murdered by Crown forces in that year.
- CLANDILLON**, Seamus. b. Gort 1878. ed. St. Flannan's, Ennis. Irish scholar. Director of Broadcasting 1925-1934. d. 1944.
- CLERY**, Arthur Edward. b. Dublin 1880; ed. C.U.S., Clongowes; called 1902. Professor of Law of Property and Contracts from 1910; member of Dáil Eireann Supreme Court 1920-1922; T.D. (Independent Republican) for University, 1927; Chairman of Convocation from 1926. d. 1932.
- COFFEY**, Denis Joseph. b. Tralee 1864. Professor of Physiology from 1893; Dean of Medical School, 1905-1908. President, University College, 1909-1940. d. 1945.
- CONWAY**, Arthur William. b. Wexford 1875; ed. St. Peter's, Wexford. F.R.U.I. 1901; Professor of Mathematical Physics 1901-1940. Fellow of Royal Society 1915. Registrar of College 1909-1940, President, 1940-1947. d. 1950.
- CORCORAN**, Father Timothy, S. J. b. Roscrea 1872; ed. Tullabeg, Clongowes. Entered novitiate 1890. Professor of Education 1909-1942. d. 1943.
- COSTELLO**, Thomas Joseph, b. Dublin 1889; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. Volunteered European War, served R.A.M.C. Later practised in Darwen, Lancashire, of which town he was mayor in the year of his death, 1945.
- COYNE**, William Patrick. b. 1867; ed. Tullabeg; leader-writer, *Freeman's Journal*, 1890-1896; F.R.U.I. 1897; lecturer Political Economy 1897-1900. Superintendent of Statistical and Intelligence Branch of newly-constituted Department of Agriculture 1900. d. 1904.
- COX**, Gerard. b. 1912; ed. C.B.S., Synge Street, and Coláiste Muire. Joined Defence Forces 1933; commissioned 1936, promoted Commandant 1954. d. 1956.
- COX**, Michael Francis, b. 1852; ed. St. Mel's, Longford. Senior physician, St. Vincent's Hospital; President, R.C.P.I. 1917-1919. Member of the Irish Privy Council, resigned as protest against British policy in Ireland 1920. First Chairman of Convocation, from 1910. d. 1926.
- COX**, Vincent Aedan, son of foregoing. b. Dublin 1887; ed. Belvedere. Called 1911. Volunteered European War, served Royal Garrison Artillery. d. 1920.
- CRAWFORD**, Lindsay. Prominent in Independent Orange Order about 1907. Trade Agent of Irish Free State in New York 1922-1929. d. 1945.
- CRYAN**, Robert. b. Roscommon 1826. Professor of Anatomy from 1856. Physician, St. Vincent's Hospital. d. 1881.

APPENDIX III

- CULLEN, His Eminence Paul, Cardinal. b. Ballytore 1803; ed. Carlow, later Rome. Rector of Irish College, Rome. Archbishop of Armagh 1849, of Dublin from 1852. Cardinal 1866. Chancellor C.U.I. from 1859. d. 1878.
- CURTIS, Reverend Robert, s. j. b. Dublin 1852; ed. Belvedere, Trinity College, Dublin. Entered novitiate 1875, was not ordained owing to ill-health. Lectured in Mathematics from 1883. F.R.U.I. 1884. d. 1893.
- DARLINGTON, Reverend Father Joseph, s. j. b. Wigan 1850; ed. Rossall, Brasenose College, Oxford. Took orders in Church of England. Received into Church 1878, entered novitiate 1880. Prefect of Studies, University College, 1890-1909, F.R.U.I. and Professor of English 1890-1901, of Metaphysics 1901-1909. d. 1939.
- DAVITT, Michael. b. Straid 1846. Organising secretary, Irish Republican Brotherhood; sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude for treason-felony 1870, released 1877. Founded Land League 1879. M.P. for Meath 1892-1893, for Cork, N.E., 1893, for Mayo, S., 1895-1899. d. 1906.
- DAVITT, Michael, son of foregoing. b. Ballybrack 1890; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street and Kingstown. Qualified 1914, treated wounded in College of Surgeons garrison 1916. Physician, Central Hospital, Galway, from 1922. d. 1928.
- DAVOREN, Ambrose. b. Dublin 1889; ed. Clongowes. B.A. 1911. Volunteered European War, served R.F.A., killed in action 1917.
- DAWSON, Charles. b. Limerick 1842. High Sheriff of Limerick 1876-1877. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1882 and 1883. M.P. (Nationalist) for Carlow 1880-1885. Later Comptroller, Rates Department, Dublin Corporation. LL.D. (*honoris causa*) 1915. d. 1917.
- DAWSON, William, son of foregoing. b. Dublin 1877; ed. C.U.S., Belvedere. Called 1904; examiner of title, Land Commission. d. 1934.
- DELANY, Reverend Father William, s. j. b. Leighlinbridge 1835; ed. Carlow, Maynooth. Entered novitiate 1856. President, University College, 1883-1888, 1897-1909. d. 1924.
- DEVOY, John. b. Kill, Kildare 1842; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. Joined Fenian Brotherhood 1861, organised recruitment to movement of Irishmen in British army; organised escape of James Stephens 1865. Sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude for treason-felony 1866; conditionally released 1871; subsequently lived in New York. d. 1928.
- DILLON, Henry J. (Father Nicholas). b. 1856. Called 1883; later entered Franciscan Order, was ordained. Minister-Provincial, 1912-1918. d. 1939.
- DILLON, John. b. Dublin 1851. M.P. for Tipperary 1880-1883, for East Mayo 1885-1918. A leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party; its chairman, 1918. d. 1927.
- DILLON, John Blake. b. Ballina 1840; ed. Castleknock. Practised as engineer. d. 1914.
- DILLON, Theobald Wolfe Tone, son of John above. b. Dublin 1898; ed. Belvedere and Mount St. Benedict's. Professor of Materia Medica from 1932. d. 1946.
- DILLON, Valentine Blake, brother of John Blake above. b. Ballina about 1843; ed. Castleknock. Admitted 1870, acted for Parnell at *Times* Commission. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1894 and 1895. d. 1903.
- DILLON, William, brother of Henry and John above. b. 1850. Called 1857, subsequently practised in Arizona. d. 1935.

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- DINNEEN, Reverend Father Patrick Stephen. b. Rathmore 1860; ed. Tullabeg. Entered novitiate 1877, withdrew from Society 1900. Irish scholar. d. 1934.
- DONOVAN, Robert. b. Leighlinbridge 1862; ed. St. Kieran's. Leader-writer, *Freeman's Journal* 1891-1923. Secretary, Dublin College Commissioners 1908-1911. Professor of English Literature from 1909. d. 1934.
- DONNELLY, Charles. b. 1912. Poet. Fought for Spanish Government in Civil War; killed in action 1936.
- DONNELLY, Most Reverend Doctor Nicholas. b. Dublin 1837; ed. Castleknock and Irish College, Rome. Bishop of Canea and Auxiliary Bishop in Archdiocese of Dublin from 1883. d. 1920.
- DOYLE, John Patrick. b. London 1882; ed. St. Columb's, Derry. Joined Indian Civil Service 1906, served in Burma as Assistant Commissioner. Served East African campaign in 1915-1918. Later Judge of the High Court in Burma. d. 1937.
- DOYLE, James J. b. Dublin 1888; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street; entered College as one of the first Archbishop Walsh scholars. A founder of the *National Student*. Entered administrative branch, High Court, later Official Assignee in Bankruptcy. d. 1955.
- DUDLEY, Earl of.—See WARD, William Humble.
- DUGGAN, Thomas A. b. Kilkenny 1894; ed. Clongowes. Law student. Volunteered European War, served East Lancashire Regiment; killed in action 1916.
- DUNGAN, Andrew R. J. b. 1902; ed. Belvedere. Lecturer in Medical Jurisprudence from 1928. d. 1929.
- DUNNE, D. B. b. about 1832; ed. Irish College, Rome. Tutor and Lecturer, later Professor in Law and Logic, 1855. Joint Secretary of Royal University from 1879. d. 1892.
- DUNRAVEN and MOUNT-EARL, Earl of.—See WYNDHAM-QUIN, Thomas.
- DURACK, Jeremiah Joseph Ernest. b. Queensland 1877; ed. Sydney University and Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Physics, Muir College, Allahabad. Volunteered European War, served 34th Poona Horse, Royal Engineers; died in retirement, Dublin, 1955.
- EGAN, Most Reverend Doctor John. b. 1839. President, University College, 1882-1883, Bishop of Waterford from 1890. d. 1891.
- EGLINTON and WINTON, Earl of.—See MONTGOMERIE, Archibald William.
- ELLIS, Andrew. b. 1792; indentured as surgeon 1815; received letters testimonial from R.C.S.I. 1820. Member surgical staff, Jervis Street Hospital; Professor of Surgery, School of Apothecaries 1837. President, R.C.S.I., 1850. Purchased Cecilia Street building for Newman. Dean of Medical School and Professor of Surgery 1855-1861. Senior Surgeon, Mater Hospital, from 1861. d. 1867.
- ESMONDE, Sir Osmund Thomas Grattan. b. 1896; ed. Downside, Balliol. Delegate of Dáil Eireann to U.S.A., Canada and Australia 1920-1921. T.D. (C. na nG.) Wexford 1923-1927, 1927-1936. Succ. as twelfth baronet 1935. d. 1936.
- FARRELL, J. J. Described by William Magennis in *The Belvederian*, 1931, as 'a journalist, long years dead'.
- FARRELLY, Philip. b. Bailieborough 1844; ed. St. Patrick's, Cavan. Called 1867 but did not practise. Supporter of Home Rule Movement. d. 1911.

APPENDIX III

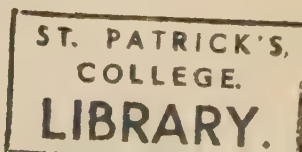
- FERRAN, Frank. Qualified (Queen's University) 1910. M.O.H., Foxford, from 1911. T.D. (S.F.) Sligo-East Mayo from 1921. Opposed Treaty; was interned early in Civil War at Curragh Camp where he died, 1923.
- FIELD, William. b. Blackrock, Dublin, 1848; ed. St. Laurence O'Toole School, Harcourt Street. M.P. (Nationalist) St. Patrick's Division, Dublin, 1892-1918. d. 1935.
- FINLAY, Father Thomas A., s. j. b. near Lanesborough, Roscommon, 1848. ed. St. Patrick's, Cavan. Entered novitiate 1866. F.R.U.I. 1883; Professor of Metaphysics 1883-1900, of Political Economy 1900-1930. Worked with Sir Horace Plunkett in foundation of co-operative movement. d. 1940.
- FITZGERALD-KENNEY, James. b. 1878; ed. Clongowes. Called 1899, silk 1926. T.D. (C. na nG.) South Mayo 1927-44. Parliamentary Secretary to Minister for Justice 1927. Minister for Justice 1927-32. d. 1956.
- FITZGERALD, Gerald. b. Waterford 1913; ed. Clongowes. M.D. 1943. Member staff of Mater Hospital. d. 1945.
- FITZGERALD, Niamh. (Mrs. Seán O'Connor). b. Dublin 1911. B.A. 1933. d. 1939.
- FITZGIBBON, Edward Cussen. b. 1909; ed. Castleknock. Called 1934, went Munster Circuit. d. 1936.
- FLOOD, Frank. b. 1902; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. Engineering student. Found guilty by courtmartial of participating in ambush of British forces, sentenced to death and executed 1921.
- FOGARTY, Gerald. b. Dublin 1894; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. Commerce student. Volunteered European War, served Royal Irish Regiment and Royal Flying Corps, killed in action 1917.
- FORBES, Timothy (Tadhg Mac Fírbisigh). b. 1905; ed. North Monastery, Cork, Called 1932; silk 1946. Chairman, Court of Referees (National Health Insurance) 1933-1952. Referee, Military Service Pensions Acts 1944-1949. Lay Commissioner, Irish Land Commission, 1954. d. 1954.
- FOTTRELL, Sir George. b. Dublin 1849; ed. Belvedere; admitted 1871. Clerk of the Crown and Peace, City and County of Dublin. Kntd. 1919. d. 1925.
- FRASER, The Hon. Henry. b. 1838, fourth son of the thirteenth Lord Lovat. Later Colonel, 1st Battrn. Scots Guards. d. 1904.
- GAFFNEY, Joseph. b. 1870; ed. Clongowes. High Sheriff of Limerick 1896. d. 1897.
- GIBSON, The Hon. William. b. 1868; ed. Merton College, Oxford, Trinity College, Dublin. Worker in revival of Irish language. Succ. as second baron Ashbourne 1913. d. 1942.
- GLADSTONE, William Ewart. b. 1809. Liberal statesman. Prime Minister, 1869-1874; 1880-1885; 1886; 1892-1894. d. 1898.
- GOSSAN, N. J. b. about 1842. Student Medical School, qualified from College of Surgeons, practised in Dublin and Howth. d. about 1899.
- GRAY, Edmund Dwyer. b. Dublin 1845. Proprietor, *Freeman's Journal*. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1880. M.P. (Nationalist) Tipperary 1877-1880, Carlow 1880-1885, Dublin 1885-1888. d. 1888.
- GRAY, Sir John. b. Claremorris 1816. M.D. (Glasgow). Political editor, later proprietor, *Freeman's Journal*. M.P. Kilkenny 1865-1875. d. 1875.
- GRIFFIN, Gerald. b. Limerick, nephew of the poet; ed. Blackrock. Called 1884, later a Resident Magistrate. Received LL.D. *honoris causa* with other surviving students of Catholic University 1915. d. 1933.

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- GRIFFITH, Arthur. b.** Dublin 1872; ed. C.B.S., Strand Street, St. Mary's Place. Editor, *United Irishman* 1899-1906. Founded Sinn Fein 1905, resigned its presidency in favour of Mr. de Valera 1917. T.D. for Cavan, E., from 1918. Minister for Home Affairs 1919, Acting-President, 1919-1921. Leader of Irish delegation in Treaty negotiations 1921. President of Executive Council, Dáil Eireann and head of Provisional Government 1922. d. 1922.
- GUINEY, Louise Imogen.** Poetess, essayist and critic. b. U.S.A. 1861; lived in England in later life. d. 1920.
- GWYNN, Stephen Lucius.** b. 1864; ed. St. Columba's, Brasenose, Oxford. Author and poet. M.P. (Nationalist) Galway City 1906-1918. A Commissioner for Dublin College, 1908-1911. Volunteered European War, served Leinster Regt. and Connaught Rangers. Member of Irish Convention 1917. d. 1950.
- HANLY, Con.** b. 1846; ed. Belvedere. Solicitor's apprentice, did not proceed. Farmed in County Dublin. d. 1910.
- HANLY, John,** brother of above. b. 1842; ed. Belvedere. Farmed in County Meath. d. 1924.
- HARRINGTON, Timothy Charles.** b. Castletownbere 1851; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Teacher and journalist. Secretary, Irish National League. M.P. (Nationalist) Westmeath 1883-1895; Harbour division, Dublin City, 1885-1910. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1901-1903. d. 1910.
- HAYDEN, John Joseph.** b. Dublin 1859. Called English Bar 1883, practised in England, later went to United States. Returned to Ireland, LL.D. 1911. d. 1936.
- HAYDEN, Mary.** b. Dublin 1862. F.R.U.I. 1895. Professor of Modern Irish History 1911-1938. d. 1941.
- HAYDEN, Thomas.** Father of foregoing. b. 1823. Professor of Anatomy 1855-1865. Physician, Mater Hospital from 1865.
- HEALY, Maurice.** b. 1887; ed. C.B.S., Cork, Clongowes. Called to English Bar 1914; silk 1931. Volunteered European War, served Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Recorder of Coventry from 1941. d. 1943.
- HEALY, Timothy Michael.** b. Bantry 1855. Called 1884; silk 1899. M.P. (Nationalist) Wexford 1880-1883, Monaghan 1883-1885, South Derry 1885-1886, N. Longford 1887-1892, N. Louth 1892-1910, N.E. Cork 1910-1918. Governor-General of Irish Free State 1922-1928. d. 1931.
- HENAGHAN, Michael.** b. Carrick-on-Shannon 1912; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. d. 1945.
- HERON, Denis Caulfield.** b. Dublin 1824; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Professor of Political Economy, Queen's College, Galway, 1849-1859. Called 1852; Serjeant 1880. M.P. for Tipperary 1870-1874, having been beaten by O'Donovan Rossa who was disqualified as a felon in the original by-election, he defeated Kickham by four votes in the second by-election. d. 1881.
- HOGAN, Father Edmund, s.j.** b. near Clonmel 1831; entered novitiate 1847. Professor of Irish Language and History 1883-1909; F.R.U.I. 1889; edited *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. d. 1917.
- HOGAN, May.** b. about 1892; ed. Loreto. Served as judge in Sinn Fein Arbitration Courts, South Dublin, 1919-1921. d. 1944.
- HOGAN, Patrick.** b. Kilrickle, Galway, 1891; ed. St. Joseph's, Ballinasloe. Admitted 1914. T.D. (S.F., later C. na nG.) Galway from 1918. Minister for Agriculture 1922-1932. d. 1936.

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- HOOPER, Patrick. b. Cork 1874. Editor, *Freeman's Journal*. Senator of Irish Free State from 1927; Deputy Chairman of Senate 1931. d. 1931.
- HOPKINS, Father Gerard Manley, s. j. b. Stratford, Essex, 1844; ed. Cholmeley Grammar School, Highgate; Balliol. F.R.U.I. and Professor of Classics from 1884. d. 1889. His poetry was later collected and published by Robert Bridges.
- HOULIHAN, John. b. Queenstown 1878; ed. Clongowes. Served Home (United Kingdom) Civil Service. d. 1931.
- HOWLEY, John Francis Whittington. b. Sligo 1866; ed. Summerhill and Tullabeg. Professor of Philosophy, University College, Galway, 1914-1936. d. 1941.
- HUGHES, Louis. b. Dublin 1912; ed. Blackrock. Entered Civil Service. d. 1954.
- HYDE, Douglas. b. Frenchpark 1860; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. A founder of the Gaelic League; its first President from 1891 to 1915. Professor of Modern Irish 1909-1932. Senator of Irish Free State 1925, of Ireland 1938. President of Ireland 1938-1945. d. 1949.
- JOYCE, James Augustine. b. Dublin 1882; ed. Clongowes and Belvedere. Principal works—*Chambers Music* (lyrics) 1907; *Dubliners*, 1914; *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, 1916; *Exiles* (a play), 1918; *Ulysses*, 1922; *Finnegan's Wake*, 1939. d. 1941.
- KAVANAGH, Morgan Butler. ed. Carlow College. Called 1867.
- KEARY, Kevin. b. Belfast 1912; ed. C.B.S., Westland Row. B.A. 1933. d. 1944.
- KELLY, Edward J. b. Ballyshannon 1883; ed. Castleknock. Admitted 1910, later called 1917, silk 1930. M.P. (Nationalist) East Donegal 1910-1922. d. 1944.
- KENNEDY, Hugh. b. Dublin 1879, privately educated. Called 1902, silk 1920. Law Officer to Provisional Government 1922; member of committee drafting Constitution of Irish Free State 1922. First Attorney-General of Irish Free State. T.D. (C. na nG.) Dublin City, South, 1923-1924. First Chief Justice of Irish Free State, from 1924. d. 1936.
- KENNEDY, John E., brother of foregoing. b. Dublin 1886; ed. Belvedere. Settled in South America 1906; teacher, journalist and mining engineer. Volunteered European War. d. 1947.
- KENT, John. b. 1909; ed. Catholic University School and Clongowes. M.A. 1931. Called 1926, acted as private secretary to Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, then Leader of the Opposition. d. 1941.
- KEOGH, William Nicholas. b. Galway 1817; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1840, silk 1849. M.P. (Peelite) Athlone 1847-1856. Solicitor-General 1852-1855; Attorney-General 1855-1856. Judge of Common Pleas from 1856. d. 1878.
- KETTLE, Thomas Michael. b. 1880; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street and Clongowes. M.P. (Nationalist) East Tyrone 1906-1910. Professor of National Economics of Ireland from 1909. Volunteered European War, served Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in action 1916.
- KINAHAN, Robert. b. about 1880. Called 1906, went Leinster circuit. d. 1921.
- KITCHENER, Herbert Horatio. b. Ballylongford 1850. British military commander. Secretary of State for War from 1914, drowned on mission to Russia 1916. Cr. Baron Kitchener 1902, Earl Kitchener 1914.
- LANGDON-BROWN, Sir Walter. b. Bedford 1870; ed. Bedford, St. John's College, Cambridge. Professor of Physics, University of Cambridge. Member of General Medical Council. Extern Examiner in Medicine to National University for several years. Kntd. 1935. d. 1946.



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- LARKIN**, Jim. b. near Newry 1876; an organiser of Irish Transport and General Workers Union, of which he was General Secretary 1908; leader in Dublin lock-out 1913; went to U.S.A. to raise union funds, was imprisoned there for labour and pacifist activity. Returned to Dublin, founded Workers' Union of Ireland; elected T.D. for Dublin City, North, 1927-1928, for Dublin City, North-East, 1937-1938, 1943-1944. d. 1947.
- LAW**, Hugh Alexander. b. 1872; ed. Rugby, University College, Oxford. M.P. (Nationalist) W. Donegal 1902-1918. T.D. (C. na nG.) Donegal, 1927-1932. d. 1943.
- LENNOX**, Patrick Joseph. b. Nurney, Kildare, 1862; ed. Rockwell, St. Patrick's, Carlow. Professor of English, Latin and French 1904-1907; Professor of English Literature and Language, Catholic University of America, from 1907. d. 1944.
- LIGNE**, Prince Charles de. b. 1837. Entered French diplomatic service.
- LITTLE**, Edward. b. 1871; ed. Clongowes. Called 1905, went Munster Circuit; District Justice, Wicklow and Kildare, 1924; later in Dublin (senior District Justice); retired 1940. d. 1952.
- LONG**, John Gerald. b. Derry 1903; ed. St. Flannan's, Ennis, and Belvedere; called 1926; a teacher at Belvedere, later in Malta where he was killed in air-raid 1941.
- LYNCH**, Patrick. b. Clare 1863; called 1888, went Munster Circuit; silk 1906. Nationalist candidate in Clare by-election 1917. Senator, Irish Free State 1934-36. Attorney-General 1936-1940. d. 1947.
- LYONS**, Robert Spencer Dyer. b. Cork 1826; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Professor of Medicine from 1856. M.P. (Nationalist) Dublin City from 1880. d. 1886.
- McARDLE**, John Stephen. b. Dundalk 1859; ed. C.B.S. and St. Mary's, Dundalk. Professor of Surgery from 1904; senior staff, St. Vincent's Hospital. d. 1928.
- MACBRIDE**, Maud Gonne. b. near Aldershot 1865; worked for evicted tenants in 1880's. Played title-role in Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* 1902. Financed Griffith's *United Irishman*. Supported anti-Treaty party. d. 1953.
- MACCABE**, Aedan E. R. Admitted 1917; later practised Cavan. d. 1946.
- McCAMBRIDGE**, Joseph. b. Ballycastle 1901. M.B. 1927. d. 1950.
- McCORMACK**, Frank. ed. Clongowes. Called (Brooke Prizewinner) 1908; went Connaught Circuit; practised later in Egypt. d. 1921.
- MACDERMOT**, Hugh Hyacinth. b. 1834. Called 1862; silk 1877. Succ. as The MacDermot 1873. Solicitor-General 1886, Attorney-General 1892-1895. d. 1904.
- MACDONAGH**, Thomas. b. Cloughjordan 1878; ed. Rockwell. Poet. Assistant in English Literature. Signatory of Proclamation of Republic 1916; executed 1916.
- MACDONALD**, William Archibald. b. Enniskerry 1841; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. M.P. (Nationalist) Queen's County, Ossory, division 1888-1892.
- MCDONALD**, John J. ed. Belvedere. Admitted 1900. d. 1938.
- MCDONNELL**, J. P. Emigrated to the United States. Organised Irish 'United Workers of America' 1875; International Labour Union for unskilled workers, 1878; New York State Federation of Trade and Labour Unions 1883. Several times imprisoned for union activities.

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- McFEELEY, Joseph Daniel. b. 1853; student of Catholic University Medical School; qualified, Royal College of Surgeons, 1885. Medical Officer of Health, Killybegs; Coroner, County Donegal; later practised in Liverpool. d. 1936.
- McGILLIGAN, Joseph Gerard. b. 1902. Qualified 1926, later practised Dundalk. d. 1941.
- McGARRY, Charles. b. 1877; ed. Belvedere. Assistant Deputy Keeper, Public Record Office from 1922. LL.D. 1907. d. 1936.
- McGRATH, H. Garrett. b. 1897; ed. Belvedere. Called 1919. d. 1919.
- McGRATH, Sir Joseph. b. Bagnalstown 1858; ed. Tullabeg. Joint Secretary, Royal University 1892-1909. Registrar, National University from 1909. Kntd. 1911. d. 1923.
- McGRATH, William, father of Garrett above. b. Portaferry 1866. Journalist; called 1895, went north-east circuit; silk 1918. Fatally wounded by armed raiders 1921.
- McINERNEY, Michael Chartres. b. 1850; ed. Castleknock. Practised law in United States; called Irish Bar 1879; silk 1894. Defended in Phoenix Park trials 1883. Dublin Metropolitan Magistrate 1910-1917. A founder of the Castleknock Union. d. 1929.
- McLOUGHLIN, Edward Patrick. b. Tipperary 1870; ed. Rockwell and Blackrock. Professor of Anatomy 1905-1941. d. 1956.
- McNALLY, John Philip. b. Newry 1922; ed. Clongowes. B.A. 1944. d. 1953.
- MACNEILL, John Gordon Swift. b. Dublin 1849; ed. Trinity College, Dublin; Christ Church, Oxford. Called (Brooke Prizewinner) 1876. M.P. (Nationalist) South Donegal 1887-1918. Professor of Constitutional Law from 1909. d. 1926
- McSWEENEY, George. b. 1865. Journalist; called 1896; silk 1911; Serjeant 1913. d. 1923.
- McSWINEY, Peter Paul. Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1864 and 1875. d. 1884.
- McWEENEY, Henry Charles. b. 1867. Professor of Mathematics from 1891. d. 1935.
- MACKEN, James. b. 1872; ed. Belvedere. Tutor and assistant to Father Darlington 1895-1901. Called 1904. A founder and first secretary of the Belvedere Union. d. 1924.
- MADDEN, Tom. Qualified, Royal College of Surgeons, 1905. Medical Officer of Health, Kiltimagh. d. 1927.
- MAGENNIS, James B. b. Lurgan 1890; ed. St. Mary's, Dundalk. M.B. 1914. Served with French Army, European War. Physician, St. Vincent's Hospital. d. 1940.
- MAGENNIS, William. b. Belfast 1869; ed. C.B.S., Belfast, and Belvedere. Professor of Philosophy 1889-1909, of Metaphysics 1909-1941. T.D. for the University 1922-1927. Senator from 1938. d. 1946.
- MAHAFFY, Reverend Sir John. b. near Vevey, Switzerland, 1839. Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, 1864. Provost from 1914. Kntd. 1918. d. 1919.
- MALLOCK, William Hurrell. b. Devonshire 1849; ed. Balliol College, Oxford. Writer on philosophical and economic subjects. d. 1923.
- MANGAN, Timothy. b. Tralee about 1887; ed. Blackrock. Served in Home (United Kingdom) Civil Service. d. 1955.

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- MARTIN, John. b. Loughorne, Down, 1812; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Follower of Mitchel in 1848. Founder of National League. M.P. for Meath from 1871. d. 1875.
- MARTIN, Patrick Leopold. b. Dublin 1830; ed. Oscott and Trinity College, Dublin. Supporter of Home Rule. M.P. for Kilkenny County 1874-1888. d. 1895.
- MAUNSELL, Thomas, b. 1839. One of the first students of Catholic University Medical School. Entered British Army 1860; served Burma and Chitral campaigns. Surgeon-General 1895. Received LL.D. *honoris causa* with other surviving students of Catholic University, 1915. d. 1937.
- MEATH, Earl of.—See BRABAZON, Reginald.
- MEREDITH, Sir James Creed. b. 1842; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Joint secretary of Royal University 1880-1909. Kntd. 1899. d. 1912.
- MEREDITH, James Creed, son of foregoing. b. 1875; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1901; silk 1918. Judge of Dáil Eireann High Court 1919-1921. Judge of the High Court 1924-1936, of the Supreme Court from 1936. d. 1942.
- MERRIMAN, Patrick Joseph. b. Dublin 1877. Professor of History, University College, Cork, 1909-1919. Registrar of that College 1915-1919 and President from 1919. d. 1943.
- MOLLOY, Right Reverend Monsignor Gerald. b. Dublin 1834; ed. Castleknock and Maynooth. Professor of Theology, Maynooth, 1857-1873. Professor of Natural Philosophy, Catholic University, from 1873. Vice-Rector 1873-1883, Rector from 1883. Vice-Chancellor, Royal University, from 1890. d. 1906.
- MOLLOY, J. J. b. Birr 1886. Admitted 1912. District Justice, Waterford, later Kilkenny, from 1922. d. 1932.
- MOLLOY, John Lynam. b. 1837; ed. Castleknock. Called to English bar. A writer of operettas, songs and Irish melodies. d. 1909.
- MOLONEY, Sir Thomas Francis. b. Dublin 1865; ed. C.B.S., N. Richmond St., University College and Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1887; silk 1899. Solicitor-General 1912-1913; Attorney-General 1913. Judge of High Court 1913-1915; Lord Justice of Appeal 1915-1918. Last Lord Chief Justice of Ireland 1918-1924. Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University from 1931. Cr. baronet 1925. d. 1949.
- MONTGOMERIE, Archibald William, Earl of Eglinton and Winton. b. 1812. Succ. as thirteenth Earl of Eglinton 1819. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1852, 1858-1859. Cr. Earl of Winton 1859. d. 1861.
- MOONEY, Joseph. b. Dublin 1895; ed. Belvedere. Called 1917; sometime Judge-Advocate-General. d. 1952.
- MOORE, George Augustus. Novelist. b. Ballyglass 1852; ed. Oscott. d. 1933.
- MOORE, Reverend Father Isaac. s.j. b. Limerick 1829. Entered novitiate 1852. Dean of Residence 1885-1886.
- MOORHEAD, Frederick. b. 1905; ed. Clongowes. Admitted 1927. d. 1947.
- MORAN, David Patrick. b. Waterford 1871; ed. Castleknock. Editor of *The Leader* from 1900. d. 1936.
- MORAN, His Eminence Patrick Cardinal. b. Leighlinbridge 1830; ed. Irish College, Rome. Nephew of Cardinal Cullen. Bishop of Ossory 1872-1884. Archbishop of Sydney from 1884. Cardinal 1885. d. 1911.

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- MURPHY, Denise. b. 1922. Auditor of English Literature Society 1941, member of Dramatic Society and contributor to the *National Student*. d. 1943.
- NEWMAN, His Eminence John Henry Cardinal. b. London 1801; ed. Trinity College, Oxford. Fellow of Oriel 1822. Received into Church 1845. Rector of Catholic University 1854-1858. Cardinal 1879. d. 1890.
- NEVILLE, Right Reverend Dean Henry. b. Cork 1822; ed. Maynooth. Professor of Logic, Maynooth, 1850, of Theology 1852. Later Vicar-General of diocese of Cork. Rector of Catholic University 1879-1883. d. 1889.
- NIXON, Sir Christopher. b. Dublin 1849; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Physician, Mater Hospital. Professor of Anatomy 1881-1886, of Medicine from 1887. Kntd. 1905; cr. baronet 1906. d. 1914.
- NOLAN, John J. b. Omagh 1888; ed. St. Macartan's. Professor of Experimental Physics from 1920. Registrar from 1940. d. 1952.
- NOLAN, Luke. ed. C.U.S. Admitted 1889. Appears to have died about 1898.
- O'BRIEN, Francis Cruise. b. Dublin 1885; ed. C.B.S., North Richmond Street. President U.I.L., later secretary to Sir Horace Plunkett's Dominion League. Leader-writer, *Freeman's Journal*, later *Irish Independent*. d. 1927.
- O'BRIEN, Ignatius, Lord Shandon. b. 1857; ed. Vincentian College, Cork. Called 1881; silk 1899. Serjeant 1910. Solicitor-General 1911; Attorney-General 1912-1913; Lord Chancellor 1913-1918. Cr. Baron Shandon 1918. d. 1930.
- O'BRIEN, Sir Patrick. b. Dublin 1823; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1844. Succ. to baronetcy 1862. M.P. (Liberal) for King's County 1852-1885. d. 1895.
- O'BRIEN, William. b. Mallow 1852; ed. Cloyne Diocesan College and Queen's College, Cork. Journalist and author. Editor, *United Ireland*. M.P. (Nationalist) Mallow 1883-1885, South Tyrone 1885-1886; North-East Cork 1887-1892, Cork City and North-East Cork 1892; Cork City 1892-1895, 1900-1903, 1904-1909, 1910-1918. d. 1928.
- O'BYRNE, Gerald. b. about 1885. ed. Clongowes. Entered Indian Civil Service. d. 1920.
- O'BYRNE, John. b. Seskin, Wicklow 1884; ed. Patrician Monastery, Tullow; entered Civil Service. Called 1911. Member of drafting committee of Constitution of Irish Free State 1922. Attorney-General 1924-1926. Judge of High Court 1926-1940, of Supreme Court from 1940. d. 1954.
- O'CARROLL, Francis Brendan. Volunteered European War, served Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in action 1915.
- O'CARROLL, John Francis. b. 1855. M.B. 1883. Professor of Medicine 1916-1925. President, Royal College of Physicians 1916. d. 1942.
- O'CONNELL, Daniel, eldest son of John O'Connell. b. 1839; drowned while sailing in Dublin Bay 1872.
- O'CONNELL, Jeremiah J. ('Ginger'). b. 1887; ed. Clongowes. Member of General Staff, pre-Truce I.R.A. General, Army of Irish Free State. d. 1944.
- O'CONNOR, Charles Andrew. b. Roscommon 1854; ed. Tullabeg, Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1878; silk 1894. Solicitor-General 1909-1911, Attorney-General 1911-1912, Master of the Rolls 1912-1914. A Judge of the Supreme Court, Irish Free State, 1924-1925. d. 1928.
- O'CONNOR, Sir James. b. Wexford 1872; ed. Blackrock. Called 1900; silk 1908. Solicitor-General 1914-1916, Attorney-General 1916-1918, Lord Justice of Appeal 1918-1924. Kntd. 1925. d. 1931.

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- O'CONNOR, James G. b. Dublin 1895; ed. Belvedere. Admitted 1918, practised Dublin. Sometime President, Belvedere College Union. d. 1956.
- O'CONNOR, Roderick (Rory). b. Dublin 1883; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines, Clongowes. Worked as railway engineer, Canada, 1911-1916, returned, fought in Easter Week 1916; later Director of Engineering, I.R.A. Occupied Four Courts, 1922; executed by Free State forces 1922.
- O'CURRY, Eugene. b. Dunaha, Clare, 1796. Professor of Irish History from 1855. d. 1862.
- O'DEMPSEY, Michael. b. Enniscorthy 1886; ed. Clongowes. Member of U.I.L. Admitted 1910; shot dead 1921.
- O'DONOVAN ROSSA, Jeremiah. b. Roscarbery 1831. Was prosecuted unsuccessfully in Phoenix trials 1859; manager *Irish People* 1863-1965; sentenced to penal servitude for life 1865; lived in U.S.A., edited *United Irishman* there. d. 1915.
- O'DONNELL, His Eminence, Patrick, Cardinal. b. Glenties 1856. Bishop of Raphoe 1888-1922; co-adjutor, Armagh 1922. Archbishop of Armagh from 1925. Cardinal 1925. d. 1927.
- O'DUFFY, Eimar Ultan. b. Dublin 1893; ed. Stonyhurst; novelist, playwright, poet. d. 1935.
- O'DWYER, Most Reverend Dr. Edward, Bishop of Limerick. b. Holycross 1842; ed. Maynooth. Bishop of Limerick from 1886. d. 1917.
- O'FARRELLY, Agnes. b. 1876. Lecturer in Irish Language 1909-1932. Professor of Modern Irish Poetry 1932-1946. d. 1951.
- O'HAGAN, John. b. Newry 1822; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1842; silk 1865. Professor of Political Economy 1855. As junior to Butt, defended Gavan Duffy in 1848 trials. Judge of the Land Court from 1881. d. 1890.
- O'HAGAN, Margaret Patricia. b. Ballinasloe 1908. B.Comm. 1929. d. 1942.
- O'HANRAHAN, Timothy. b. Kilkenny 1909; ed. C.B.S., Kilkenny and Clongowes. Admitted (Findlater Prizewinner) 1931; later secretary and general manager Irish Sugar Co. d. 1945.
- O'HIGGINS, Kevin Christopher. b. Stradbally 1892; ed. Clongowes and Carlow. T.D. for Queen's County, later Leix-Offaly, 1918-1923, for County Dublin from 1927. Minister for Economic Affairs in Provisional Government 1922. Minister for Home Affairs, later for Justice, and Vice-President of the Executive Council from 1923. Minister for External Affairs 1927. Assassinated 1927.
- O'KEEFE, Denis, Canon. b. Dublin 1882. Lecturer in Scholastic Philosophy, Queen's University, 1909-1925. Professor of Ethics and Politics from 1925. d. 1952.
- O'KEEFE, Nora. b. Dublin 1908. B.Comm. 1929. Journalist, *Irish Press*. d. 1942.
- O'KELLY, Seamus. b. Belfast 1879; ed. Queen's College, Belfast, and University College. Author and Irish scholar. Worked with Father E. Hogan, s. j. M.B. 1909. Lecturer in Obstetrics. d. 1954.
- O'LEARY, John. b. Tipperary 1830; ed. Carlow and Trinity College, Dublin. Medical student, Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway. Editor *Irish People* 1863; sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for treason-felony 1865; amnestied 1874; lived in Paris, later settled in Dublin. d. 1907.

APPENDIX III

- OLDHAM, Charles Hubert. b. Dublin 1860; ed. Kingstown Grammar School and Trinity College, Dublin. A founder of the Contemporary Club. Professor of Commerce 1909-1917, of the National Economics of Ireland from 1917. d. 1926.
- O'LOUGHLIN, Reverend Father Augustine. b. Callan 1817; ed. Irish College, Paris. Dean, Catholic University, from 1858. d. 1885.
- O'MAHONY, Francis. b. County Cork. Joined Austrian army, served in campaigns of 1859 and 1866. Volunteered for Papal Army 1860 and served as captain in the Battalion of St. Patrick.
- O'MARA, James. b. 1873; ed. Clongowes. M.P. (Nationalist) Carlow 1900-1907. T.D. (S.F.) South Kilkenny 1918-1922; (C. na nG.) South Dublin 1924-1927. Trustee, Dáil Eireann Loan 1919. d. 1948.
- O'MEARA, Michael Cartan. b. 1853; admitted 1875, practised in Dublin. d. 1931.
- O'NEILL, Father George, s.j. b. Dungannon 1863; entered novitiate 1880. Lecturer in English and French Literature 1897-1901. Professor of English Literature 1901-1923. Later worked in Sydney. d. 1947.
- O'REILLY, Eugene. b. Athboy 1904. Member of engineering staff of Electricity Supply Board. d. 1938.
- O'REILLY, Myles. b. Dublin 1825; ed. Ushaw. Commanded Irish Brigade in Papal service 1860. M.P. (supporter of Butt) for Longford 1862-1879. d. 1880.
- ORNSBY, Robert. b. County Durham 1820; ed. Lincoln College, Oxford. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, 1843. Received into Church 1847. Professor of Classical Literature from 1855. F.R.U.I. 1882. d. 1889.
- O'SHAUGHNESSY, Richard. b. Limerick 1842; ed. Tullabeg and Clongowes. Called 1866. M.P. for North Limerick 1874-1883; later a Commissioner of Public Works until 1903. d. 1918.
- O'SHAUGHNESSY, Sir Thomas Lopdell. b. Dublin 1850; ed. Queen's College, Galway. Called 1874; silk 1889. Recorder of Dublin 1905-1924. Judge of the High Court 1924-1925. Kntd. 1927. d. 1933.
- O'SHEA, John Augustus. b. Nenagh 1839. Journalist and author, sometime Paris correspondent of Pigott's *Irishman*. d. 1905.
- O'SULLIVAN, John Marcus. b. Killarney 1881; ed. St. Brendan's and Clongowes. Professor of Modern History from 1909. T.D. (C. na nG.) for Kerry 1924-1943. Parliamentary Secretary to Minister for Finance 1924-1926. Minister for Education 1926-1932. d. 1948.
- PARNELL, Charles Stewart. b. Avondale 1846; ed. Magdalene College, Cambridge. M.P. for Meath from 1875. Leader of Irish Parliamentary Party from 1880 to split in 1890. d. 1891.
- PASTURE, Reverend Father Charles de la, s.j. b. Nice 1839; ed. Downside. Entered novitiate 1863, later worked on mission near Bournemouth from 1881. Received LL.D. (*honoris causa*) with other surviving students of Catholic University 1915. d. 1923.
- PEARSE, Patrick Henry. b. Dublin 1879; ed. C.B.S., Westland Row. Called 1901. Founder of Scoil Eanna 1908. President of Provisional Government of Irish Republic 1916. Executed 1916.
- PENNY, William Goodenough. ed. Christ Church, Oxford. Received into Church 1844, later ordained. Catechist in Creed and Scripture.

APPENDIX III

- REDMOND**, John Edward. b. 1856; ed. Clongowes, Trinity College, Dublin. M.P. (Nationalist) for New Ross 1881-1885, North Wexford 1885-1891, Waterford from 1891. Chairman, Irish Parliamentary Party from 1900. d. 1918.
- REDMOND**, William Hoey Kearney, brother of foregoing. b. 1861. M.P. (Nationalist) for Clare from 1892. Volunteered European War, served Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in action 1917.
- REID**, Bernard. b. Dublin 1886; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines. An editor of the *National Student*. Joined Irish Volunteers, was present at Howth gun-running 1914. Volunteered for French Army in European War; application postponed. Later served in Leinster Regiment and Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in action 1916.
- ROBERTSON**, James. b. London of Scottish parents 1800; ed. St. Edmund's, Ware. Called, English bar, 1825. Professor of Modern History and Geography, later of English Literature, from 1855; received Civil List pension 1869. d. 1877.
- ROCHE**, John. Called 1872, went Munster Circuit; silk 1883. County Court Judge, Down, 1894-1896. d. 1897.
- RONAYNE**, John A. b. 1887; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines. Called (Brooke Prize-winner) 1909, went Munster Circuit. d. 1918.
- RUSSELL**, George William (Æ). b. Lurgan 1867; ed. Rathmines School. Author and poet. Joined Irish Agricultural Organisation Society 1897. Edited *Irish Statesman*. d. 1935.
- RUSSELL**, Sir Thomas Wallace. b. Cupar, Fife, 1841. Settled in Ireland 1859; secretary to various temperance organisations. Organised tenants in Ulster. M.P. (Liberal) South Tyrone 1886-1910, North Tyrone 1911-1918. Vice-President, Department of Agriculture 1907-1918. d. 1920.
- RYAN**, Frank. b. Knocklong, 1902; ed. St. Colman's, Fermoy. Opposed Treaty, fought in Civil War, interned 1922-1923. Later edited *An Phoblacht*. Fought for Spanish Government 1936, taken prisoner 1938, released 1940. Went to Germany. d. Dresden 1944.
- RYAN**, Hugh. b. near Nenagh 1873; ed. Queen's College, Galway. Professor of Chemistry from 1899. State Chemist from 1924. d. 1931.
- RYAN**, Michael Joseph. b. Bruree 1890; ed. C.B.S., Thurles. Called (Brooke Prizewinner) 1919; silk 1929. Professor, Constitutional Law and Public and Private Wrongs 1926-1934, of Property, Common Law and Equity from 1934. A representative of the University in Seanad Éireann 1944-1948. d. 1952.
- ST. JOHN**, Ambrose. b. Edgbaston 1815; ed. Westminster, Christ Church College, Oxford. Received into Church 1845. Close friend of Newman and member of community at the Oratory, Birmingham. d. 1875.
- SEXTON**, Thomas. b. Ballygannon, Waterford, 1848; ed. C.B.S. M.P. (Nationalist) Sligo County 1880-1885, Sligo, South, 1885-1886; West Belfast 1886-1892; North Kerry 1892-1896. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1888 and 1889. d. 1932.
- SHANDON**, Baron—See O'BRIEN, Ignatius.
- SHERLOCK**, David. b. 1814; ed. Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1837, went home circuit; silk 1855. Serjeant 1870. M.P. (Liberal) King's County 1868-1880. d. 1884.

APPENDIX III

- SHEEHY, David.** b. Broadford 1844; ed. Jesuit seminary, Irish College, Paris. M.P. (Nationalist) South Galway 1885-1890, South Meath 1903-1918. d. 1932.
- SHEEHY, Reverend Father Eugene,** brother of above. b. Broadford 1841; ed. Mungret, Irish College, Paris. Curate, Kilmallock, 1880, later Parish Priest, Bruree. Imprisoned in Kilmainham with Parnell 1881. Worked later with Devoy and Tom Clarke. d. 1917.
- SHEEHY, Richard,** son of David above. b. 1882; ed. Belvedere. Called (Brooke Prizewinner) 1907, went Munster Circuit. d. 1923.
- SIGERSON, George.** b. Strabane 1838; ed. Queen's College, Cork. Historian and antiquarian. Professor of Botany and Zoology 1861-1909, of Zoology 1919-1923. Senator, Irish Free State from 1922. d. 1925.
- SKEFFINGTON, Francis Joseph Christopher.** b. Bailieborough 1878; ed. private study. Author, journalist and worker in feminist movement. Shot without trial by British troops 1916.
- SKEHAN, James.** b. Pennywell 1894; ed. private study. Medical student, later ordained and ministered in England. Parish Priest of Middlesborough. d. 1935.
- SLATTERY, Edmund Benedict.** b. about 1888; ed. Clongowes. Admitted 1912, practised Tralee. Volunteered European War, served Royal Munster Fusiliers. d. 1946.
- STARKIE, William Joseph Myles.** b. Sligo 1860; ed. Clongowes. President of Queen's College, Galway, 1897-1899. Resident Commissioner of National Education from 1899. d. 1920.
- SULLIVAN, Alexander Martin.** b. Bantry 1830. Journalist and author. Editor from 1858 and later proprietor of *The Nation*. M.P. for Louth 1874-1880, for Meath 1880-1882. Called 1876; silk 1881. d. 1884.
- SULLIVAN, Timothy Daniel,** brother of above. b. Bantry 1827. Journalist and author. M.P. (Nationalist) Westmeath 1880-1885, Dublin City 1885-1892, West Donegal 1892-1900. Lord Mayor of Dublin 1886 and 1887. d. 1914.
- SULLIVAN, William Kirby.** b. near Dripsey, Cork, between 1820 and 1825. Chemist to Museum 1846-1856. Professor of Chemistry 1856-1873. President of Queen's College, Cork, from 1873. d. 1890.
- SUTTON, Reverend Father William, s. j.** b. Cork 1847; ed. Clongowes, Trinity College, Dublin. Entered Novitiate 1868.
- TAYLOR, John Francis.** b. County Mayo about 1850. Author. Called 1882, went Connaught Circuit; silk 1892. d. 1902.
- WALDRON, Michael.** b. Ballyhaunis 1875; ed. private study. Antiquarian and worker in Gaelic League. LL.D. 1911. Judge of Dáil Eireann Courts 1919-1921. d. 1954.
- WALSH, Louis.** b. Maghera 1880; ed. St. Columb's, Derry, and Terenure. Author. Admitted 1905. District Justice, Donegal, from 1923. d. 1942.
- WARD, William Humble, Earl of Dudley.** b. 1867. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1902-1905. Governor-General of Australia 1908-1911. d. 1932. Succ. as second Earl 1885.
- WESTBURY, Lord.**—See **BETHELL, Richard.**
- WHELAN, Most Reverend Doctor John.** b. 1800; member of Carmelite Order (discalced). Bishop of Bombay 1849, returned shortly afterwards to Ireland. d. Dublin 1876.

APPENDIX III

- WHITE, James Robert. b. 1879; ed. Winchester, Sandhurst; served South African War 1899-1902. An organiser of Citizen Army.
- WILDE, Sir William Robert Wills. b. Castlerea 1815. Author and antiquarian. Oculist and surgeon. Kntd. 1864. d. 1876.
- WOOD, Albert Edward. b. Norwich 1874; ed. Morgan's School and Trinity College, Dublin. Called 1902; silk 1919. d. 1941.
- WOODLOCK, Most Reverend Doctor Bartholomew. b. Dublin 1819; ed. Belvedere and Clongowes. President, All Hallows College 1854-1861. Rector, Catholic University 1861-1879. Bishop of Ardagh from 1879, retired 1894. d. 1902.
- WRAFTER, Reverend Father Joseph, S. J. b. Rosenallis, Leix, 1865; ed. Tullabeg. Entered novitiate 1884. Minister of Jesuit community, University College, Dublin, 1900-1903. Chaplain, European War. Superior, University Hall 1922-1923. d. 1934.
- WYNDHAM, George. b. London 1863; ed. Eton. Conservative statesman. M.P. for Dover from 1889. Chief Secretary for Ireland 1900-1905; sponsored Land Purchase Act of 1903 and devolution proposals, forced to resign. d. 1913.
- WYNDHAM-QUIN, Windham Thomas, Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl. b. Adare 1841; ed. Christ Church, Oxford. Succ. as fourth Earl 1871. Chairman, Irish land tenure conference 1902-1903; advocate of devolution. Senator, Irish Free State from 1922. d. 1926.
- YEATS, John Butler. b. Tullish, Down, 1839; ed. Athol Academy, Trinity College, Dublin. Artist. d. 1922.
- YEATS, William Butler, son of foregoing. b. Dublin 1865; ed. High School. Poet and playwright. Nobel Prizewinner for Literature 1923. Senator, Irish Free State 1922-1928. d. 1939.
- YOUNG, Edmund. b. about 1863; ed. Catholic University School.
- ZAMOYSKI, Count Etienne. Described as 'Seigneur de Wysock' in Galicia. b. 1837. d. 1899.

Notes on Abbreviations

C.U.I.—Catholic University of Ireland; C.U.S.—Catholic University School; C.B.S.—Christian Brothers' Schools; F.R.U.I.—Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland; M.O.H.—Medical Officer of Health; R.A.M.C.—Royal Army Medical Corps; R.C.P.I.—Royal College of Physicians in Ireland; R.C.S.I.—Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland; R.F.A.—Royal Field Artillery; R.F.C.—Royal Flying Corps.

O.P.—Dominican Order; S.J.—Society of Jesus.

C. na nG.—Cumann na nGaedheal; F.F.—Fianna Fáil; S.F.—Sinn Féin; U.I.L.—United Irish League.

Admitted—to practice as a solicitor; Called—to the Bar; Qualified—as a doctor.

Cr.—created; Succ.—succeeded; Kntd.—Knighted.

Academic posts, not further described, refer to posts in the Catholic University, the National University or University College, as the context suggests.

Appendix IV.

PREPARATION OF THE CENTENARY HISTORY

THE FIRST ATTEMPT to record the history of the Society was made, so far as we can ascertain, by John E. Kennedy in the pages of *St. Stephen's*. A letter in the issue for March 1904 stated that he had commenced the task. In the following November an editorial note commented that: 'We understand that the historical sketch of the Society which was projected some time ago has to be very much delayed owing to the difficulty in collecting the widely scattered materials'. In April 1905 the first article appeared. It dealt, however, solely with the foundation of the Catholic University. It ended with the following words: 'In our next number we shall give an account of the first ordinary meeting of the Literary and Historical Society founded by Newman. We will take our facts from the Society's first minute book, which has been very kindly lent to us by Mr. John Dillon, M.P.' Unfortunately, that article did not appear; probably because Mr. Kennedy went to South America about that time.

The *National Student* was soon interested in the Society's history. The issue for January 1914 contained an article by Mr. Arthur Cox, who, using his father's papers, was able to indicate a number of names and events which have been most useful in the preparation of the present volume. From time to time since then, the *Student* has published a number of articles on the Society.

In 1929-1930 Mr. Dudley Edwards assisted Father Henry Browne, S.J., in the preparation of those sections of *A Page of Irish History: Story of University College, Dublin, 1883-1909*, which dealt with the Society. A list of Auditors and inaugural addresses during the period of the Jesuit College was compiled. The earlier history of the Society fell outside the scope of the book; but on page 336 the Editor stated that: 'The original Minute Book with a set of Rules for the year 1856 was found among the papers of the late Mr. John Dillon, M.P., whose representatives have kindly put it at our disposal for reference'.

The approach of the centenary year inspired a growing interest in the history of the Society. The first step was taken in 1940, in the auditorship of Mr. P. N. Meenan, for the collection of minute books and other records. In 1944-1945, in the auditorship of Mr. Walter Treanor, a centenary fund was established of which Mr. Arthur Cox and the present Editor were appointed trustees. Research into the earlier history of the Society was initiated by Mr. Treanor and maintained in later auditorships, notably in Mr. O'Kelly's. In 1951, in the auditorship of Mr. Dermot Ryan, a committee was appointed consisting of Professor Dudley Edwards, the Reverend Professor E. F. O'Doherty, Mr. Vincent Grogan, Father T. Dunning, Mr. Charles Doyle and Mr. Sean Cooney to collect and house the records of the Society and to examine the project of a centenary history. In 1953-1954, in the auditorship of Mr. Gerard Sheehy, a board was unveiled in University College which set out the names and years of office of past Auditors so far as they were then ascertained.

The project of a history was brought further in 1954-1955, in the auditorship of Mr. M. O Ríain. In October 1954 the Society invited Mr. James Meenan to act as the General Editor of a Centenary History. On November 26th 1954 a representative meeting of past members was held in 86 St. Stephen's Green at which the President of the Society, Dr. Michael Tierney, took the chair. After speeches from the President and Mr. M. O Ríain, the Editor outlined the proposed scope of the Centenary History. After discussion the following resolutions were adopted.

That in the opinion of this meeting, the project of a Centenary History is worthy of support.

That a Committee be appointed to assist in the preparation and publication of a Centenary History.

APPENDIX IV

The Editorial Committee then appointed consisted of Mr. W. G. Fallon, who was elected chairman at its first meeting, Miss Norah Greene, An Breitheamh Cearbhall O Dálaigh, Mr. T. A. O'Rourke, Professor Dudley Edwards and the Auditor. Subsequently District Justice Farrell and Mr. Vincent Grogan were co-opted. Mr. Henry Kennedy and Mr. Desmond Windle were likewise co-opted on their election to the auditorship. The meeting also elected Senator Arthur Cox and Dr. John O'Donovan, T.D., Parliamentary Secretary to the Government, as Honorary Treasurers.

During a considerable period the Editorial Committee met almost every week to discuss the plan of the book and to consider the contributions. In June 1955 an appeal for funds to defray the costs of publication was issued to past members of the Society and to other graduates of the College. This appeal was issued under the patronage of the President of the Society, Dr. Michael Tierney, the Chancellor of the University, Mr. Eamon de Valera, T.D., An Taoiseach, Mr. J. A. Costello, T.D., and the Chief Justice, the Hon. Conor A. Maguire. The Society is deeply indebted for this assistance. The appeal was sent out by members of the Society under the direction of Mr. Vincent Grogan. The Editorial Committee wishes to record its appreciation of the work of Mr. Grogan and his helpers, whose efforts produced a highly encouraging response.

The Editorial Committee also wishes to express its thanks to the President and Governing Body of University College, Dublin, for a grant to finance research in newspaper files which was carried out by Mr. Charles Doyle; to the Senate of the University for permission to use the wood-cuts by Mr. Sean MacManus which have been placed between the chapters; to the Registrar of the University, Dr. Seamus Wilmot, and to Mr. John Bourke, M.COMM., for assistance in the compilation of the biographical notes. Many present members of the Society gave great help with these notes, notably Mr. Charles Doyle, Mr. Sean Cooney, Mr. Richard Ryan, Mr. M. O Riain, and in particular Mr. Owen Dudley Edwards. Very useful information and advice in this task was given by Father Burke-Savage, S.J., Dr. William Doolin and Dr. Sarsfield Kerrigan. Miss Power, the Librarian of University College, made the surviving records of the Society freely available at all times. Mr. Desmond Clarke, the Librarian of the Royal Dublin Society, gave valuable advice on binding formats. Among those who helped in the preparation of the proofs, Mr. P. F. Donovan deserves special mention.

The photographs from which the illustrations were prepared were kindly lent by Mrs. Kennedy, Mrs. Kettle, Mrs. Magennis, Mrs. Schutte-Ronayne, Dr. Bodkin, Dr. Curran, Dr. Myles Dillon, Mr. P. F. Donovan and Senator Owen Sheehy-Skeffington. The preparation of these photographs was made possible by the unflagging help given by Professor John McGrath and the late Mr. Leo Whelan, R.H.A.

For permission to use copyright material we are indebted to the Yale University Press for passages from *The Imperial Intellect* by A. Dwight Culler; to John Lane The Bodley Head for a passage from *James Joyce* by Herbert Gorman; to the Talbot Press for passages from *Our Own Wee Town* by Louis Walsh, and from *A Page of Irish History*, and to Messrs. Browne and Nolan for passages from *Struggle with Fortune*.

In conclusion a special word of thanks must be given to the very many past members who supplied information about the Society. Their eagerness to help was a constant encouragement. As is mentioned elsewhere, it is hoped to place the care of the Society's records on a more formal basis. These records, in spite of still serious gaps, have been greatly enriched in the last two years. In this regard, special acknowledgment must be made of the return of the minute book which disappeared in 1906 by the representatives of Mr. Justice O'Byrne and of the discovery by District Justice Ua Donnchadha of the committee minute book used in the 1920's.

Appendix v.

NOTE ON THE RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY'S RECORDS are now deposited in the Library of University College. From them, and from references in various publications, it has been possible to construct the following list which includes minute books formerly known to exist. It is hoped that some of them may be discovered in private hands.

- I. Minute book of the Historical, Literary and Aesthetical Society, cited in *A Page of Irish History* as having been lent to the Editor by the representatives of John Dillon. Whereabouts now unknown.
- II. A Rule-book of 1857. This copy was the property of Charles Dawson and was presented by William Dawson in 1933 to the then Auditor, James Meenan. It was later made over to Walter Treanor in his year of office when an attempt was made to collect the records. It is now in the archives.
- III. Minute book of the Union Literary Society which records the minutes of that Society for 23 November 1882. The last general meeting noted was on 25th April 1883. It was subsequently used as a committee minute book of the L. & H. between November 1885 and December 1886 and again between November 1897 and January 1899. It is now in the archives.
- IV. Minute book stamped 'University College Literary and Historical Society'. The first entry is the minutes of the 'First General Meeting, February 16th, 1884'. It contains the minutes of general meetings, and of some committee meetings, from that date to the meeting of 6 March 1891. The next entry is that of the revival meeting of 2 November 1897. It was used for general and committee meetings thereafter. The last entry is the minutes of the general meeting held 'in the Oak Room of the Mansion House on Saturday, the 25th May, 1907, Mr. J. B. Yeats in the chair'.

This minute book was removed from the College in 1906 and was used by the Society 'in exile'. It was found among the papers of the late Mr. Justice O'Byrne and was presented to the Society by his representatives in 1954. It is now in the archives.

- V. Minute book, stamped as IV. This contains the minutes of the meetings held by the Society 'within the walls' in 1906-1907. Its first entry refers back to the general meeting of 17th May 1906, at which Cruise O'Brien was declared elected as Auditor. This is followed by an account of proceedings from 17th May to 8th December 1906, after which general and committee meetings are recorded in sequence. This minute book ends in November 1916. It is now in the archives. Pages 182 and 183, which would appear to deal with the Michaelmas term of 1912 before 11 December, are missing. The report of the delegation to Father Delany in 1908, which was contained in a pocket in the back cover, is also missing.
- VI. Minute book which conjecturally ran from November 1916 to about June 1925. Whereabouts are now unknown.
- VII. Minute book which conjecturally ran from about October 1925 to about February 1933. Whereabouts are now unknown.
- VIII. Minute book which conjecturally ran from about February 1933 to June 1936. Whereabouts are now unknown.

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- IX. Minute book running from June 1936 to February 1945. Now in the archives.
- X. Minute book running from March 1945 to May 1952. Now in the archives.
- XI. Minute book running from May 1952 to the Hilary term of 1954. This was accidentally lost in the circumstances described on page 311.
- XII. The minute book at present in use. Its first entry refers back to the annual general meeting of 1952 after which minutes have been re-written until 15th May 1954.
- XIII. Committee minute book running from May 1923 to February 1931. Now in the archives.
- XIV. Register of members running from 1884 to 1906. Now in the archives.
- XV. Roll-book running from 1906 to 1936. Some pages are missing from the year 1932-1933. Now in the archives.
- XVI. Account book running intermittently from 1906 to 1930. Now in the archives.

Appendix VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM DAWSON. b. Dublin 1877; ed. Catholic University School and Belvedere. Called to the Bar 1904; later became an examiner in title in the Land Commission. d. 1934.

FELIX E. HACKETT. b. Omagh 1882; ed. Christian Brothers' School, Omagh; Post-graduate studies at Johns Hopkins. Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland 1905. Lecturer in Physics, Royal College of Science in Ireland, 1909-1921, Professor 1921-1926. Professor of Physics and Electrical Engineering, University College, 1926-1952. Member of the Committee for Industrial Research and of Committee for Standards, Institute for Industrial Research and Standards. Chairman, School of Theoretical Physics, Institute for Advanced Studies. Treasurer, Royal Irish Academy, since 1930. Honorary Secretary, Royal Dublin Society, 1933-1953. President since 1953.

THOMAS F. BACON b. Carlow 1881; ed. National Schools, Leighlinbridge and Carlow (St. Joseph's); Christian Brothers and the Academy, Carlow; and Clongowes. Called to the Bar 1908. Father of the Leinster Bar since 1942. Benchler, King's Inns, 1946.

EUGENE SHEEHY. b. 1883; ed. Belvedere. Called to Bar 1910. Volunteered European War, served Royal Dublin Fusiliers and Heavy Artillery. Legal Officer, Free State Army 1922-1923. Chief Commissioner, Dáil Eireann Courts 1923-1924. Judge-Advocate-General 1927-1928. Circuit Court Judge 1928-1954. Chairman, Board of Assessors, Military Pensions, since 1954. Publications: *May It Please the Court* (reminiscences).

PATRICK J. LITTLE. b. 1884; ed. Clongowes. Admitted solicitor 1914. Edited, 1916-1926, *New Ireland, Eire, Sinn Féin, An Phoblacht*. Member of Governing Body, University College, 1918-1922. Diplomatic representative of Irish Republic in Union of South Africa and Argentine 1921. T.D. (*Fianna Fáil*) for Waterford 1927-1954. Parliamentary Secretary to the President of the Executive Council and Minister for External Affairs 1933-1939. Minister for Posts and Telegraphs 1939-1948. Director of the Arts Council since 1951. Permanent Honorary Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

WILLIAM G. FALLON. b. 1881. ed. Belvedere. President in 1908 of Young Ireland Branch, Dublin, of United Irish League. Original member of Proportional Representation Society of Ireland, 1910. Assistant Secretary of Parliamentary Party's Press and Public Meetings Agency (London and Britain) 1912-1914. Called to the Bar 1920. President, Belvedere College Union, 1926-1927, of Irish Rugby Football Union 1949-1950. Member of the Adoption Board. Publications, in Catholic Truth Society's Historical Series: *Perpetual Peace: A Catholic Ideal* (1918); *Via Romana* (1933).

APPENDIX VI

- THOMAS BODKIN.** b. Dublin 1887; ed. Clongowes. Director of National Gallery of Ireland 1927-1935. Director of the Barber Institute, Birmingham, Public Orator and Professor of Fine Arts, the University of Birmingham, 1935-1953. Professor of the History of Fine Art in the University of Dublin. K.S.J.; M.R.I.A. Publications: *Hugh Lane and His Pictures*; *An Approach to Painting*; *My Uncle Frank*; *May It Please Your Lordships*; *A Guide to Capet*, etc.
- MICHAEL MCGILLIGAN.** b. Castlerock, Derry, 1887; ed. St. Columb's, Derry, and Clongowes. Entered Indian Civil Service 1911. District and Sessions Judge 1923-1931, retired 1931. Called to Irish Bar 1926. Took silk 1948; Bench, King's Inns, 1954.
- ARTHUR COX.** b. Dublin 1891; ed. Belvedere. Admitted solicitor 1915. President of the Incorporated Law Society in its centenary year, 1951-1952. Senator since 1954.
- GEORGE O'BRIEN.** b. Dublin 1892; ed. Catholic University School, St. George's, Weybridge, and Belvedere. Professor of the National Economics of Ireland since 1926, of Political Economy since 1930. President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland 1942-1946. Senator, representing the University, since 1948.
- CAHIR DAVITT.** b. Ballybrack 1894; ed. O'Connell Schools and Presentation College, Glashule. Called to the Bar 1916. Judge of Dáil Eireann Courts 1920-1922. Judge-Advocate-General 1922-1926. Temporary Circuit Court Judge 1926, Circuit Court Judge for the City and County of Dublin 1927-1945. Bench, King's Inns, 1927. Judge of the High Court 1945. President of the High Court since 1951.
- CECIL LAVERY.** b. Armagh 1894; ed. Castleknock. Called to the Bar 1915. Took silk 1927. T.D. (C. na nG.) for Dublin County 1935-1938. Bench, King's Inns, 1933. Senator 1948-1950. Attorney-General 1948-1950. Judge of the Supreme Court since 1950.
- DERMOT F. GLEESON.** b. Nenagh 1896. Admitted solicitor 1920. Appointed District-Justice, County Clare, 1922; transferred to Limerick city area 1947. D.Litt., on thesis, 1942. Publications: *The Last Lords of Ormond* (1938); *Roscrea, Town and Parish* (1943).
- JOHN FARRELL.** b. Dublin 1900; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines, and Belvedere. Called to the Bar 1921. Appointed District Justice 1943.
- JOHN MOWBRAY.** b. New York 1902; ed. St. Malachy's, Belfast. M.B. 1926, M.D. 1933. House Physician, St. Vincent's Hospital. Ex-President, Irish Paediatric Association. Member of Executive Committee of Irish Medical Association. Visiting Physician, Children's Hospital, Temple Street, and St. Anthony's Hospital. Extern examiner for Diploma in Child Health.
- JOHN CHARLES FLOOD.** b. Bristol; ed. in England and France. Served with Allied Forces in France and Flanders 1914-1919. Qualified M.B. 1924; M.D. 1932; M.Ch. 1934. Member of Governing Body of College 1947-1950, of Senate of University 1939-1944. Sometime member of General Medical Council, of Irish Medical Registration Council, of Court of Directors of Apothecaries Hall of Ireland. Monk and Priest of Ealing Abbey.

APPENDIX VI

- PATRICK F. DONOVAN.** b. Dublin 1906; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines, and Catholic University School. President of Students' Representative Council 1927-1928, of Athletic Union Council 1930-1931. Post-graduate studies in New College, Oxford. Assistant in History from 1929, in English from 1934. Lecturer in English since 1946. Member of the Governing Body 1935-1950, of the Senate of the University 1944-1954. Supervisor of Examinations since 1939.
- ROBERT DUDLEY EDWARDS.** b. Dublin 1909; ed. Catholic University School. Post-graduate studies in King's College, University of London. Lecturer in Modern Irish History 1939; Professor of Modern Irish History 1944. Editor of 'Irish Historical Studies' since 1938. Publications: *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (1935).
- MERVYN WALL.** b. Dublin 1908; ed. Belvedere and University of Bonn. Entered Civil Service 1934; has been Programme Officer in Radio Eireann since 1948. Dramatist, novelist, short storywriter, broadcaster. Publications in Britain and United States, also in other countries in translation: Plays, *Alarm Among the Clerks* (1937); *The Lady in the Twilight* (1941); *The Shadow* (1945); *Wicklow Granite* (1950); Novels, *The Unfortunate Furse* (1946); *The Return of Furse* (1948); *Leaves for the Burning* (1952); *No Trophies Raise* (1956).
- RICHARD DUNNE.** b. Dublin 1910; ed. Belvedere. Called to the Bar 1933; went Midland Circuit. Member of Extradition Board, British Foreign Office (German Division) 1947-1948. Worked with Inland Revenue, London, and income tax departments of industrial companies 1948-1955.
- BRIAN O'NOLAN.** b. County Tyrone 1911; ed. in Dublin and England. Has written much ephemeral material in English and Irish; since 1940 has written a daily feature in a Dublin paper. Publications, in Great Britain and United States: *At Swim-Two-Birds* (1939); *The Old Hat* (1943). His play, *Faustus Kelly*, was produced at the Abbey Theatre in 1941. Has written many short stories and other pieces published in Ireland, Great Britain, Continental countries and the United States. Usually writes under pseudonyms.
- RICHARD COOKE.** b. Dublin 1912; ed. St. Peter's N.S., Phibsborough and O'Connell Schools. Called to the Bar 1938 after four years secretarial work in the Industrial Credit Company. Served in Officers Training Corps while in College and was mobilised in 1939. Commissioned 1939 and served with Artillery Corps until 1945 when he returned to practice. Counsel to the Commissioners of Valuation.
- PADDY PURCELL.** Became a news-editor on *The Irish Independent* after leaving College and was in later years, for more than a decade, editor in turn of *The Irish Digest* and *The English Digest*. During that period he wrote four romantic novels which proved extremely popular here, in the United States and on the Continent. Some time ago he turned his back, temporarily at least, on 'serious' literature to become, as Padraig Puirseal, a sports-writer on *The Irish Press*. He has no regret at having swapped Keats, culture and criticism for hurlers, footballers and running dogs, claiming in self-defence that what was good enough for Damon Runyon is surely good enough for Paddy Purcell.
- PATRICK LYNCH.** b. Dublin 1918; ed. Catholic University School. Entered the Civil Service in 1941. Since 1952 has been Lecturer in Economics in University College.

APPENDIX VI

- WALTER TREANOR.** b. Clogher 1922; ed. Castleknock. Graduated M.B. 1947. Worked in the Mayo Clinic and graduated M.Sc. from the University of Minnesota, 1952. Served in the Medical Corps, United States Army. Has published articles in professional journals on neurophysiology, neurology and rehabilitation. At present is Chief Psychiatrist, St. Mary's Hospital, San Francisco.
- OLIVER MACDONAGH.** b. Carlow 1924; ed. Roscommon Christian Brothers' School and Clongowes. Post-graduate studies at Peterhouse and St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. Called to the Bar 1946. Historian; Ph.D. (Cantab.) 1952. Lecturer, St. Catherine's College, 1950, Director of Studies there 1951, and Fellow and Librarian 1952.
- FRANCIS X. ROONEY.** b. Dublin 1927; ed. Belvedere. Called to the Bar 1948. Admitted an Advocate of the High Court of Tanganyika 1952 and as a Pleader of the High Court of Nyasaland 1956. Notary Public and Commissioner for Oaths.
- ULICK O CONNOR.** b. Dublin 1928; ed. St. Mary's, Rathmines. Winner in welterweight, British Universities Championships, 1950. Irish champion, pole vault, 1947. Post-graduate study at Loyola University, New Orleans. Called to the Bar 1951. Broadcaster, B.B.C. and Radio Eireann. Contributor to newspapers and periodicals, *The Observer*, *The Scotsman*, *Spectator*, *Tablet*, *Time and Tide*, etc.
- CHARLES DOYLE.** b. Ballysax, County Kildare, 1930; ed. St. Joseph's College, Ballinasloe. Called to the Bar 1952, goes Western Circuit.
- MICHEAL O RIAIN.** b. Dublin 1933; ed. Christian Brothers School, Synge Street. Auditor of the Society in the centenary session. Graduated B.A. in Economics and B.Comm. in 1955. M.A. 1956.

The Introduction, Epilogue and Chapter One were written by the Editor.

Appendix VII.

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